ΙΩ
ΘΕΟΛΟΓΟΣ
ΜΑ
ΤΘΑΙΟΣ
ΜΡ
ΘΥ
ΙC
ΧC
ΙΩ
ΑΓΙΟΣ
ΛΥΚΑΣ
ΑΓΙΟΣ
ΜΑΡΚΟΣ

34 Gospel Lectionary

Middle to second half of the twelfth century

Tempera and gold on parchment

Book: 40 × 30.8 × 11.1 cm (15¾ × 12⅛ × 4⅜ in.)

CONDITION

Leather binding over wooden boards with Greek style endbands consisting of red, blue, and metallic gold thread (fully intact). Silver gilt overcover, with raised and engraved designs, attached with nails around all edges of boards and flexible linked chain mesh across spine width (with wire repairs). Parchment with yellow and white hair/flesh sides, with pronounced diagonal scraping marks. Design in excellent condition with flake losses, often occurring in conjunction with scraped preparation of parchment support. Scattered flake losses throughout.

The Holy Monastery of Saint Catherine, Sinai, Egypt (Sinai cod. 208)

HEADPIECES SHAPED LIKE A π (the Greek letter pi) are found at the beginning of some texts within this lectionary, but this gold-ground Deesis composition on folio 1v is the only figural illumination in the manuscript.[1] As a Gospel lectionary, the manuscript comprises readings arranged for the feasts of the liturgical year.[2] For this reason, the Deesis includes the Four Evangelists in the corners of the page, in clockwise order from the upper left-hand corner, John, Matthew, Mark, and Luke, each holding a book to signify his authorship. The evangelists are cordoned off, as are all the figures on the page, by a patterned ribbon of red, yellow, and blue. The center register presents the Deesis triad of an enthroned Christ—who also holds a book—along with the Virgin Mary and John the Baptist, both of whom stand. These flanking figures raise their hands to Christ in a gesture of entreaty. This core group is distinguished by their relative scale and the unity provided by the horizontal register on which they are disposed.

Such compositional groupings of Deesis and evangelists are not unprecedented,[3] but the solution arrived at in this Gospel lectionary is unique. The composition may derive part of its meaning from the lectionary tradition, but its visual models are not found in that context. The compartmentalization of the different figures, half length or full, is suggestive of a horizontally extended composition most commonly found on templon beams, in an arrangement similar to the beam from Sinai with Deesis and scenes of the life of Saint Eustratios (cat. no. 21).[4] Not only does the arrangement of Deesis and evangelists relate to group depictions in other media but it also reflects traditional ideas about the hierarchy of the evangelists. John and Matthew occupy the top register, while the "junior" evangelists, who were not original disciples, are placed at the bottom of the page. This arrangement reflects the order of Gospels within the manuscript. Such orders of precedence are also found in monumental art.[5] The page in this Gospel lectionary was determined, then, not as much by the textual contents as by the context in which the lectionary was used.[6]

GP

NOTES

1. On the Deesis, see Cutler 1987.
2. See Weitzmann and Galavaris 1990, p. 166; Robert F. Taft in *ODB*, s.v. "Lectionary."
3. See Galavaris 1979, pp. 115–19.
4. See Firath 1969, p. 163, where the combination of Deesis and evangelists is found, but in a different order.
5. See Borsook 1990, p. 9.
6. Galavaris 1979, p. 119; Weitzmann and Galavaris 1990, p. 169.

REFERENCE

Weitzmann and Galavaris 1990, pp. 166–70.

34 (opposite), Deesis with Four Evangelists, fol. 1v

35 | Cross with Scenes of Moses

Sixth century, Syria or Palestine(?)

Bronze with chased inscriptions

H: 112.1 cm (44⅛ in.); W: 79.4 cm (31¼ in.); Th: 1.27 cm (½ in.)

INSCRIBED

On upright: † Ἐγένετο δὲ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ τρίτῃ γενη|θέντος πρὸς ὄρθρον ἐγίνοντο φω|νὲ κ(αὶ) ἀστραπὲ καὶ νεφέλη γνο|φώδης ἐπ᾽ ὄρος Σι|να, καὶ φωνῆ τῆς σάλπιγγος ἤχι μέγα· καὶ ἐπτοήθη πᾶς ὁ λαὸς ἐν τῇ παρεμβολῇ, κ(αὶ) ἐξήγαγεν Μουσῆς τὸν λαὸν ἐκ τῆς παρεμβολῆς εἰς τὴν συνάντη|σιν τοῦ Θεοῦ (And it came to pass on the third day; about dawn there were voices and lightnings and dark clouds on Mount Sinai, and the voice of the trumpet sounded loud, and all the people in the camp were terrified. And Moses led forth the people out of the camp to meet God,); on arms: κ(αὶ) παρέστησαν ὑπὸ τὸ ὄρος τὸ Σινα. Τὸ δὲ Σινα ὄρος ἐκαπνίζετο ὅλον διὰ τὸ καταβεβηκέναι τὸν Θ(εὸ)ν ἐπ᾽ αὐτὸ ἐν πυρί. Τὰ σὰ ἐκ τῶν σῶν σοι προσφέρομεν. κ(ύρι)ε, ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας Θεοδώρας τῆς φι(λο)χρ(ίστου) καὶ ὑπὲρ ἀναπαύσεως Πρόκλου κ(αὶ) Δομετίας, ἀμήν. (And they halted at the foot of Mount Sinai. And the whole Mount Sinai was issuing forth smoke, since God had descended upon it in fire. Thine own of Thine own, we offer Thee, O Lord. For the salvation of Theodora the Christ-loving and for the repose of Proclos and Dometia, Amen.); on base of upright: κ(ύρι)ε μνήσθητι τῷ γράψαντ[ος] † (Lord, remember the engraver)[1]

CONDITION

Top flange cast separately and attached. Broken U-shape strap (now in two pieces) would have originally formed a loop for hanging. Bottom drilled out for mounting device; breaks and drill holes through front inscriptions suggest that attachment was not original. Bottom left corner, serif missing.

The Holy Monastery of Saint Catherine, Sinai, Egypt

THE SINAI CROSS, ONE OF THE LARGEST PRESERVED from early Byzantium, was originally ornamented with gemstones that dangled from the lower edge of its arms; preserved spikes supported candles along the upper surface. We may assume that this was one of many such donations made to the monastery and that Sinai must have had an impressive collection of medieval liturgical vessels and implements. The chance survival of this cross may be attributed to its manufacture in bronze, a relatively inexpensive material.

The epigraphy and shape of the cross suggest a sixth-century date and an origin in Syria or Palestine.[2] Similar wide, flaring arms and corner serifs appear on metal crosses from the fifth to seventh century from Syria and Egypt.[3] Because of its size and weight, it is likely that the cross was stationary, not portable, and was initially placed on top of the central templon of the church, where it may have been one of many.[4] There, its shape echoed the broad, flaring crosses of the church's original chancel plaques (see fig. 120). The inscriptions on the Moses cross from the book of Exodus (19:16–18) and from the Orthodox liturgy support the association with the sanctuary entrance. They refer to the manifestations of God—his revelation to the Israelites in the desert and the mystical transformation of the offered bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ. The celebrating priest invoked the inscribed prayer, "Thine own of Thine own, we offer Thee, O Lord," between the Words of Institution and the Epiclesis in the Byzantine Anaphoras of Saint John Chrysostom and Saint Basil.[5] This prayer is also inscribed on the sixth-century altar table in Hagia Sophia, Constantinople; the lintel of a church in Syria; the rim of a liturgical chalice also from Syria (cat. no. 36); and a baptismal font. The prayer appropriately marks a cross intended

35, detail

35. detail with Moses loosening his sandal

Figure 117
Mosaic with Moses loosening his sandal, sixth century. East wall of main church. The Holy Monastery of Saint Catherine, Sinai, Egypt.

35. detail with Moses receiving the Law

Figure 118
Mosaic with Moses receiving the Law, sixth century. East wall of main church. The Holy Monastery of Saint Catherine, Sinai, Egypt.

for the threshold of the church's most sacred liturgical space.[3] The sketchy scenes incised into the arms of the cross—Moses receiving the Law and Moses removing his sandals before the Burning Bush—replicate the mosaics on the east wall of the sanctuary (albeit in reverse order) and further associate the cross with the main church rather than subsidiary chapels (figs. 117–19; also see fig. 15).

At its conclusion, the inscription records the names of Theodora, Proclos, and Dometia and their desire for salvation. Many liturgical objects of the period commemorate donors in a similar manner. The identity of the donor, Theodora, cannot be determined.

SEJG.

NOTES

1. Translation from Weitzmann and I. Ševčenko 1963, with changes.
2. Weitzmann and I. Ševčenko 1963, pp. 397–98.
3. See, for example, the crosses from the Hama and Phela Treasures in the Walters Art Museum and Dumbarton Oaks Collections, respectively; M. M. Mango 1986, nos. 8, 65. For a silver cross found in excavations in the Temple of Luxor, see Strzygowski 1973, p. 340, no. 7201, pl. 39.
4. A similar configuration, based on a description by Paul the Silentiary, has been proposed for the sanctuary screen in Hagia Sophia, Constantinople. See S. G. Xydis 1947. Amantos (1928) recorded the location of the Moses cross in the chapel of Saint James; Weitzmann sited the cross in the Chapel of the Forty Martyrs of Sinai (see fig. 119). See Amantos 1928, p. 47 n. 2; Forsyth and Weitzmann 1973, pl. 99. Weitzmann first suggested the location above the templon in Weitzmann and I. Ševčenko 1963, p. 390.
5. Brightman 1896, p. 329, 7; Taft 1996.
6. See Weitzmann and I. Ševčenko 1963, pp. 393–94. For the altar table in Hagia Sophia, see Cedrenus 1838, p. 677c. For the lintel of Church no. 5 in Il-Anderin (Androna), Syria, see H. C. Butler 1908, pp. 50–51. For the "Tyler" or "Riha" chalice, see cat. no. 36. For the baptismal font, see Salles 1941, pp. 88, 252–53, pls. 46.2, 115.1, 115.2

REFERENCES

Amantos 1928, p. 47 n. 2, fig. 2; Rabino 1938, pp. 33, 106, no. 71; A. Grabar 1969; Weitzmann and I. Ševčenko 1963; I. Ševčenko 1966, p. 264; Washington 1994.

Figure 119
Chapel of the Forty Martyrs with the cross in situ. The Holy Monastery of Saint Catherine, Sinai, Egypt.

Figure 120
Chancel panel in the sanctuary of the main church. The Holy Monastery of Saint Catherine, Sinai, Egypt.

ΟΜΕΝΚΕ ✠ ΤΑCΑΕΥ

36 The "Riha" Chalice

527–65, Constantinople or Syria

Hammered silver with inscription in niello and gilding on upper turned border

H: 17.5 cm (6⅞ in.); Diam: 16.8 cm (6⅝ in.); 527.7 grams

INSCRIBED

† ΤΑ CΑ ΕΚ ΤΩΝ CΩΝ CΟΙ ΠΡΟCΦΕΡΟΜΕΝ Κ(ύρι)Ε (Thine own of Thine own we offer Thee, O Lord)

CONDITION

Before conservation treatments in 1976 the chalice was thoroughly blackened and the foot was bent. Now in good condition. It has been polished, but tarnish remains in recessed areas.

The Byzantine Collection, Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, D.C. (BZ.1955.18)

THE OVERALL DIMENSIONS, the finely balanced cup and knob, the flaring foot, and the broadly spaced and elegantly proportioned inscription make this chalice the finest of the eight from a set of liturgical church silver, reconstructed as the Kaper Koraon Treasure.[1] The words in the inscription band are common in the Greek liturgies and are reported as being used by Justinian for the dedicatory inscription on the altar of Hagia Sophia. What is even more interesting in the present context is that the inscription appears in precisely the same form on the large bronze cross at Mount Sinai (cat. no. 35).[2] The five control stamps inside the foot include the monograms of Justinian (r. 527–65) and are the earliest among the stamped objects within the reconstructed treasure.

In this type of chalice, the cup and foot were made by hammering and were attached to each other by a soldered silver collar. The whole was subsequently smoothed by a lathe. Chalices and patens are the central liturgical objects, and by the seventh century they were designated as pairs, known as *diskopoteria*.[3] However, the evidence of church treasures and inventories indicates that chalices outnumbered patens by at least two to one.

GB

36. detail from inside foot of chalice, showing monogram of Justinian

NOTES

1. M. M. Mango 1986. The chalice is said to have been found in Riha, Syria.
2. Weitzmann and I. Ševčenko 1963, p. 393.
3. M. M. Mango 1990, p. 248.

REFERENCES

Volbach 1921, p. 17, Paris 1931, no. 407; Peirce and Tyler 1934, p. 124, pl. 170; Bréhier 1936, p. 85; Ross 1962, pp. 10–12, no. 9, pl. 10; M. M. Mango 1986, pp. 144–46, no. 30.

ΜΝΗΣΘΗΤΩΝΟΥΚΤΩΝΑΥΤΩΝΤΩΝΚΝΩΝΤΥΠΕΡΑΝΑΠΑΥΣΕΩΣΤΗΣΑΓΙΑΣΣΟΥΑΝΝΟΥ
ΤΟΥΘΕΟΛΟΓΟΥΚΑΙΕΥΑΓΓΕΛΙΣΤΟΥΤΗΡΙΑΣΜΕ

37 The "Riha" Paten

565–78, Constantinople or Syria

Silver repoussé with gilding and inscription in niello

H: 3.2cm (1¼ in.); Diam: 35 cm (13¾ in.); 904 grams

INSCRIBED

† ΥΠΕΡ ΑΝΑΠΑΥCΕΩC CΕΡΓΙΑC ΙΩΑΝΝΟΥ Κ(αὶ) ΘΕΟΔΟCΙΟΥ Κ(αὶ) CΩΤΗΡΙΑC ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ Κ(αὶ) ΝΟΝΝΟΥ Κ(αὶ) ΤΩΝ ΑΥΤΩΝ ΤΕΚΝΩΝ
(For the peace of the soul of Sergia, daughter of Ioannes, and of Theodosius, and for the salvation of Megalos and Nonnous and of their children)

CONDITION

Fragile at rim, areas where silver has broken through, and areas of old repair. Some breaks, cracks, scratches, and dents. Gilding very worn on parts of altar cloth, and apostles' clothes. Paten very weak where flat part of plate rises to form side of dish.

The Byzantine Collection, Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, D.C. (BZ.1924.5)

NOTES

1. M. M. Mango 1986, no. 36.
2. Marlia Mundell Mango in Sotheby's 1990, lot. 43.

REFERENCES

Ross 1962, pp. 12–15, no. 10, pls. 11–13; Wessel 1964, pp. 9–18; Schrader 1979; New York 1979, pp. 611–12, no. 547, pl. 16; M. M. Mango 1986, pp. 165–70, no. 35; Toynbee and Painter 1986, no. 80; Caillet 1995, p. 43, fig. 35; Durand 1999, p. 53, ill. on p. 47.

A SYMMETRICAL COMPOSITION representing the Communion of the Apostles is inscribed into the center of the paten. Behind a cloth-covered altar, the cross-nimbed figure of Christ, shown twice, administers the bread on the right and the wine on the left to two groups of six apostles each. They stand on either side of an altar that holds a chalice, a paten, and two wineskins. In the exergue below are two more liturgical vessels. The architectural setting controls and unifies the vivid narrative created by the animated apostles. The two spiral columns that support an architrave with a shell niche mark the "holy sphere" and the sanctuary reserved for the two figures of Christ. The four, possibly five, control stamps with imperial portraits and monograms on the reverse are those of Justin II (r. 565–78).

Patens in different sizes were used to display and carry eucharistic bread. Only a few preserved plates represent the Communion rite itself. A very similar depiction of the communion of the twelve apostles now appears on a paten in the Archaeological Museum, Istanbul.[1] In a third, fragmentary example in the De Menil Collection in Houston, only Peter and Paul stand beside a polygonal altar, with a single figure of Christ at the center of the plate.[2]

Vessels and containers made of silver were fabricated on a wide scale for domestic and donated cult objects. Pious individuals presented silver implements to churches all over the early Byzantine Empire. The purpose of those donations far exceeded the immediate needs of the churches, and the inscribed votive dedications reveal the relationship between donors and their religious aspirations. Silver vessels were gifted to fulfill a vow, or—as in the case of the paten in question—to obtain salvation and commemorate family members.

From inventories, donor lists, and more than a dozen buried treasures that have been found, we gain a detailed picture of the types of liturgical implements that existed during the early Byzantine period. Nearly all of these treasures (including this paten and cat. nos. 36 and 38) derive from village, rather than urban, churches. They demonstrate the wealth of local donors and provide valuable evidence from the middle or even lower end of the social scale. One can scarcely imagine how precious—in quantity and quality—were the church treasures, enriched by imperial gifts, of the capital cities.

G.B

37, detail

38 | The "Riha" Flabellum

565–78, Constantinople or Syria

Cast, engraved, and partially gilded silver

Diam: 30.9 cm (12 3/16 in.)

CONDITION
Large loss to peacock-feather border on right. Gilding is very worn. Light tarnish overall, esp. in interstices at tips of feathers. Reverse: old solder is visible on top feather and along break at left side.

The Byzantine Collection, Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, D.C. (BZ.1936.23)

WHAT MAY LOOK LIKE A MIRROR AT FIRST GLANCE is actually a liturgical fan (Latin, *flabellum*; Greek, *rhipidion*), consisting of a silver disc with a border of sixteen peacock feathers. The tang at its base has a groove, indicating that the disc was made to be attached to a staff, probably wooden. Both faces of the disc depict the tetramorph, a four-winged creature whose wings are covered with eyes, and who has the heads of a lion, a man, an ox, and an eagle, and human hands and feet. At the sides are a pair of fiery wheels. The gilding applied to the tetramorph, the wheels, and the border enhances the three-dimensionality of the shallow relief. The four control stamps on the reverse of the tang indicate that the silver fan was stamped before it was decorated and was fabricated during the reign of Justin II (r. 565–78).

The subject depicted, the vision of Ezekiel (EZEK. 1:5, 10), is common for liturgical fans of all periods and represents the heavenly attendants that are evoked in the liturgy. Written sources attest the use of fans in the liturgy as early as the end of the fourth century. According to the Apostolic Constitutions (VIII, 12:3–4), two deacons stood by the altar and waved fans made of parchment, peacock feathers, or cloth to keep flies from the bread and wine during Mass. What may have begun with actual fans made of feathers has here been transformed into a liturgical implement of high ceremonial status.

The Dumbarton Oaks fan is said to have been found at Riha, Syria, along with the chalice and paten also shown here (cat. nos. 36–37), and all three liturgical objects are presumably parts of an original set of church silver comprising over fifty pieces. This flabellum, and an almost identical one in the Archaeological Museum, Istanbul, are the earliest existing liturgical fans.[1]

GB

NOTE
1. M. M. Mango 1986, no. 31.

REFERENCES
Dodd 1961, p. 96, no. 21; Ross 1962, pp. 15–17, no. 11, pls. 9, 15; Dodd 1968, p. 147; Kurt Wessel in *Reallexikon zur byzantinischen Kunst*, s.v. "Flabellum"; Dodd 1973, pp. 35–48, figs. 29–30, 32, 33; New York 1979, pp. 617–18, no. 553; M. M. Mango 1986, pp. 150–54, no. 32

38, detail

39 Candelabrum with Saints and Mythical Beasts

Eleventh/twelfth century

Cast bronze soldered with lead

H: 158.8 cm (62½ in.); Diam (base): 48.3 cm (19 in.); Diam (top plate): 44.5 cm (17½ in.)

INSCRIBED

Ο Α(γιος) ΓΕΟΡΓΙΟC (Saint George);
Ο Α(γιος) ΘΕΟΔΩΡΟC (Saint Theodore);
Ο Α(γιος) ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟC (Saint Demetrius);
Ο Α(γιος) ΠΡΟΚΟΠΙΟC (Saint Procopius)

CONDITION

Candelabrum consists of removable drip pan and plate fitted over a finial soldered to the shaft. Plate for candles lacks three of its prongs and shows evidence of former repair. Shaft (originally three separate pieces) has been soldered together and soldered to a base with three feet.

The Holy Monastery of Saint Catherine, Sinai, Egypt

THE FEET OF THREE HYBRID CREATURES support this tall, handsome, bronze candelabrum. Lions, griffons, and variations on the Persian *senmurv* (see detail, below left), a composite mythological creature, decorate the lobes of the base and several sections of the shaft, and bands of floral ornament twist around the large oval in the center. Directly above is a segment with medallion portraits of the four military saints—George (see detail, below right), Demetrius, Procopius, and Theodore. At the top of the candelabrum, leopards chase rabbits around the perimeter of the drip pan, and a dozen spikes for candles—less the three now missing—surround a single central pricket and candle. Though indebted to contemporary Islamic art, the ornament is Byzantine and related to twelfth-century metal bowls in Russia.[1]

The images of the four saints on the shaft are icons in this context as in any other. Placed in the upper part of the candelabrum for ease of sight and veneration, these armored warriors, wielding shields and spears, guard the lights above and what they illumine.

A possible pendant to the Sinai candelabrum may be an undecorated candelabrum of similar size and design that is presently in use in the chapel of the Sinai Fathers.[2] Known as the *manoualia dodekaphotia* for their twelve candles, such pairs of large candelabra, normally made of bronze, appear to have been a feature of well-endowed churches and monasteries,[3] but the only other examples extant are two at the Lavra Monastery on Mount Athos, of similar date.[4] Normally placed before the templon and major icons, the *manoualia* were lit on special occasions. At the twelfth-century Constantinopolitan monastery of Kecharitome, candelabra with twelve candles were set "in front of the holy icon of the Mother of God set out for veneration" on the feast of her birth.[5] In the following century, four *dodekaphotia* illumined the center of the nave of the monastery of Auxentios during the annual all-night vigil for its patron saint.[6]

RSN

NOTES

1. Darkevich 1975.
2. Height 142 cm (55⅞ in.).
3. The late-fourteenth-century inventory of Hagia Sophia in Constantinople describes *manoualia* made of gilded silver and other precious materials: Parani, Pitarakis, and Spieser 2003, p. 161 (with bibliog.).
4. Bouras 1989–90.
5. Gautier 1985, pp. 108–9; J. Thomas and Hero 2000, vol. 2, p. 697. At the Pantocrator Monastery in Constantinople, the *dodekaphotia* stood in front of the icon of the Savior: Gautier 1974, pp. 38–39; J. Thomas and Hero 2000, vol. 2, p. 741.
6. Dmitrievskij 1895–1917, p. 788; J. Thomas and Hero 2000, vol. 3, p. 1229.

REFERENCES

Bouras 1989–90; Laskarina Bouras in *DMA*, s.v. "Lighting Devices"; Ikonomaki-Papadopoulos 1990, pp. 263–78; Laskarina Bouras in *ODB*, s.v. "Lighting, Ecclesiastical"

39, detail with *senmurv*

39, detail with Saint George

40 Lamp Stand

Late tenth or eleventh century, Egypt

Cast bronze

H (with finial): 166.7 cm (65⅝ in.);
Diam (base): 38.7 cm (15¼ in.)

INSCRIBED

In three bands on the upper and lower shaft of the midsection, and at the top of the base repeat, nearly verbatim, in Arabic, "Perfect blessing and complete favor; perfect blessing and complete favor and happiness." A fourth inscription on this lamp, written in a more cursory manner, perhaps reads, "Perfect blessing to its owner."[1]

CONDITION

Three-legged lampstand consists of separate cast elements assembled with threaded rod that runs the length of the shaft and is fastened with bolts at top and bottom. Decorative motifs created with chasing and punchwork. Loss to edge of separate pan at top of stand. The candleholders on each of the trays are later additions.[2]

The Holy Monastery of Saint Catherine, Sinai, Egypt

FURNITURE IN THE MEDIEVAL ISLAMIC WORLD was generally portable and often adaptable to a variety of settings, both secular and religious. Stands fabricated of copper alloys such as brass—and intended to support oil lamps—are one of the most common forms of surviving furniture.[3] One specific type of lamp stand, with a wide, footed base supporting a shaftlike midsection, which in turn carries a tray, was in common use from the tenth through the thirteenth century in an area extending from Egypt and Syria to eastern Iran. Such lamp stands were made of individually cast, interlocking multiple parts and were probably intended to be not only easily portable but adjustable to different heights through the addition of balusterlike and cylindrical elements to the middle section. This lamp stand—one of a pair from the Chapel of Saint Stephen (at the Holy Monastery of Saint Catherine at Sinai)—fits within this genre (see fig. 122).

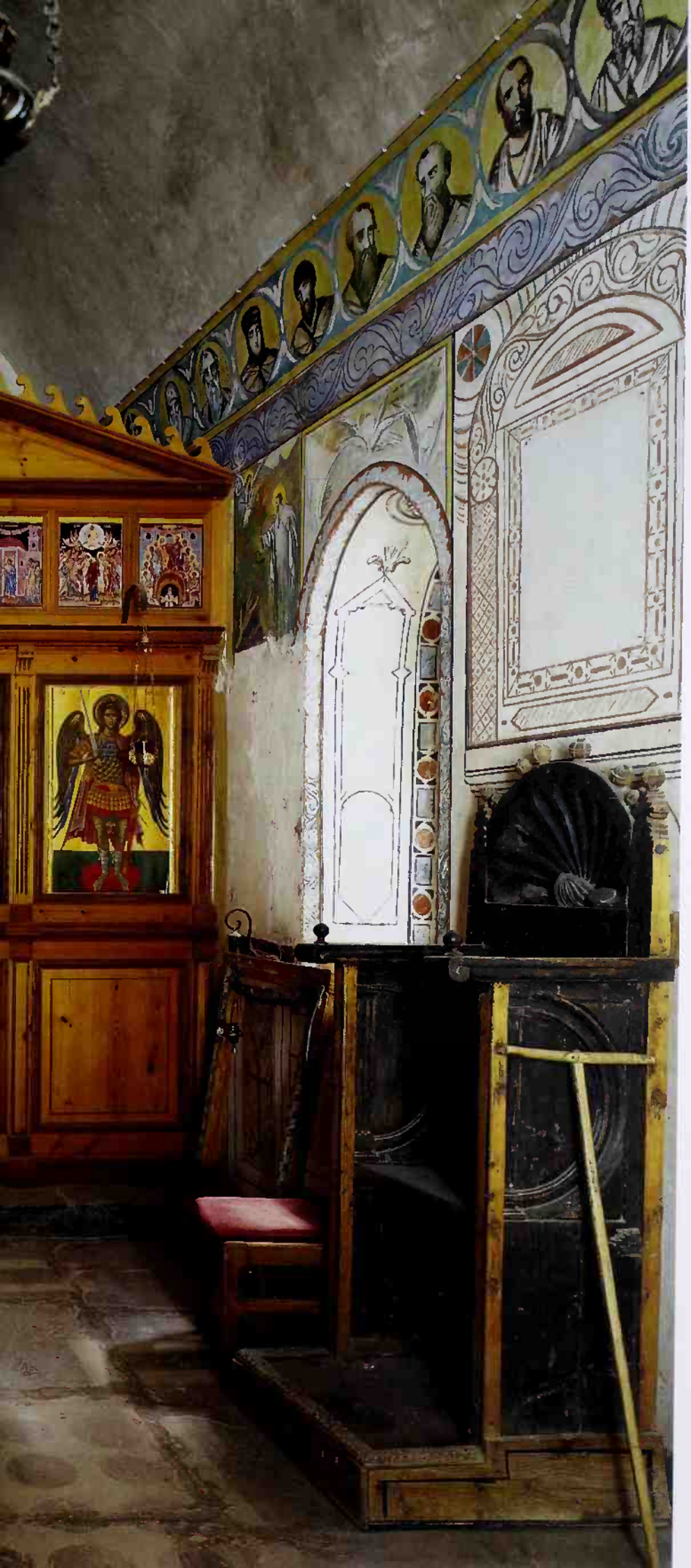
Its ornament (leafy designs enclosed by a heart-shaped device); the decorative technique (punched background); and the style of Arabic inscription (an angular Kufic script with large, broad letters and leafy and abstract designs in the interstices)—rather than the lamp stand's shape—help to associate it with Egypt under the rule of the Fatimid dynasty (969–1171), and more specifically the late tenth through the eleventh century.[4] The inscriptions provide formulaic blessings to the anonymous owner.[5]

Such lamp stands were evidently well known throughout the Fatimid caliphate. A hoard excavated at Caesarea (modern Israel) in 1995, and datable to the late tenth or early eleventh century, revealed a number of bronze lamp stands.[6] Nasir-i Khusraw, a medieval Persian traveler and writer who visited the Fatimid empire between 1046 and 1050, describes a shrine in Tyre (modern Lebanon) as being furnished with carpets and mats, hanging lamps, and lamp stands (*cheraghdan*) of gold and silver.[7]

The functionality, versatility, and evident popularity of this type of lamp stand is demonstrated by its depiction in illustrated manuscripts from late-twelfth- and thirteenth-century Iraq, where it supports several different types of oil lamps. The stands appear beside seated or standing figures, always in a secular, generally domestic context, as for example in an Arabic rendition of *De Materia Medica* by Dioscorides, dated 621/1224 (fig. 121).[8] It seems likely that this Fatimid lamp stand and its mate, although of a high quality, were probably household items that at some point were brought to the Chapel of Saint Stephen, where they were further transformed into candle holders to illuminate important icons.

LR

Figure 121
Two physicians preparing medicine, from an Arabic rendition of *De Materia Medica* by Dioscorides. 1224. Single leaf from a manuscript. Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C. (F1932.20).



NOTES

1. The reading of the inscriptions is based solely on available photographs.
2. One of the lamps was reproduced in the 1938 guidebook to Saint Catherine's (Rabino 1938, pl. 11, fig. 1), without any appurtenance atop the tray, while a later photograph from the archives of the Michigan-Princeton-Alexandria Expedition shows a pricket rising from the tray (see Baer 1983, fig. 10).
3. See Baer 1983, pp. 10–18, on the evolution of the lamp stand. Also, see Ward 1993, pp. 60–64, for a general discussion of the lamps and lamp stands from Egypt.
4. In the early tenth century the Isma'ili, Shi'ae Fatimid dynasty came to power in North Africa and soon expanded its authority to Sicily and parts of Egypt. The Fatimid armies completed their conquest of Egypt in 969, and in that year Cairo was founded as the new capital, becoming an important cultural center that was to rival Baghdad. From Egypt the Fatimids extended their domain to Syria. On Fatimid art in general, see, for example, Contadini 1998; more specifically on the style of Fatimid epigraphy, see Hasse 1999. Also on epigraphic style as it relates to Fatimid metalwork, see Grube 1965.
5. It is interesting to note that the choice of words is quite different from the good wishes, also in Arabic, found on roughly contemporary Iranian lamp stands and other related bronzes. See Melikian-Chirvani 1982, p. 85. Instead, the inscriptions on this lamp stand represent an abbreviated version of the inscriptions on a Fatimid bronze bowl; see Grube 1965, p. 141.
6. Presumed to have belonged to an affluent private family, for there was no evidence to suggest a mosque or other religious institution; see Tel Aviv 1996, pp. 51–55.
7. Tel Aviv 1996, p. 22, where the author mistranslates *cheraghdan* as "candlestick," and indeed lamp stands seem to be consistently misidentified as candlesticks throughout the text. See Nasir-i Khusraw 1976, p. 24. On the meaning of *cheraghdan*, as literally "lamp on stand," or a "lamp stand," see Melikian-Chirvani 1982, pp. 239, 384, although he suggests that *cheragh-paye* is the correct classical term for a lamp stand supported by articulated feet. The account of eleventh-century traveler Nasir-i Khusraw has been translated into English. Thackston 1986 (see, esp., p. 16, where he translates *cheraghdanha* as "lanterns").
8. Also two illustrations in *Kitab al-Diryaq* (*Book of Antidotes*), dated 595/1199, in the Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, Ms. arabe 2964; see Farès 1953. Other examples occur in three roughly contemporary versions of the *Maqamat* (Assemblies) of al-Hariri in the Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, Ms. arabe 5847, dated 634/1237, fol. 13v; in the Suleimaniye Library, Istanbul, Esad Efendi 2961, c. 1242–58, fol. 14v; and in the Russian Academy of Sciences, Saint Petersburg, C-23, c. 1240, pp. 29, 90. These *Maqamat* illustrations are collectively available on microfiche. See O. Grabar 1984, microfiche 119, 1E12, 1F3, 3G12.

REFERENCES

Rabino 1938, pl. 11, fig. 1; Baer 1983.

Figure 122

Fatimid lamp stands in front of the iconostasis in the Chapel of Saint Stephen. The Holy Monastery of Saint Catherine, Sinai, Egypt. Photo: Bruce White.

41 Epitrachelion with Feast Scenes

Last quarter of the fifteenth century, Constantinople or northern Greece

Metallic threads (probably gold and mixed silver alloy) on fabric support (probably linen) and red damask

304.8 × 12.4 × 2.5 cm (120 × 4⅞ × 1 in.)

INSCRIBED
Inscriptions label each scene. In the interlace at the end of the stole with monogram: ΜΑΤΘΑΙ(ο)C ΙΕΡ(ο)Μ(ό)ΝΑΧ(ο)C (Hieromonk Matthew)

CONDITION
Excellent condition overall. Some abrasion and loss of the silk threads, primarily restricted to outside borders. The linen support beneath red silk and metal threads shows through in several places. The embroideries were likely remounted to a new supporting fabric at least once. Losses in selected areas reveal preliminary stitchwork. Clipped letters on one side indicate that the stole has been trimmed in the course of repair. Green corrosion product on two lower decorative pendants. Flat foil thread used for metallic borders.

The Holy Monastery of Saint Catherine, Sinai, Egypt

THIS PRIEST'S STOLE, OR *epitrachelion*, is typical of liturgical vestments produced in the late and post-Byzantine periods. When Byzantine liturgical vestments began to be ornamented with figural embroideries in the late twelfth century, the Dodekaorton, or cycle of twelve feasts, was a leading subject for such decoration. These scenes, which represent the Gospel story in synoptic form, were especially appropriate for liturgical costume, as they parallel the allegorical exposition of the liturgy as a recapitulation of Christ's incarnate life.[1] A number of stoles ornamented with the Dodekaorton survive from the fifteenth century,[2] and the 1396 inventory of Hagia Sophia in Constantinople describes a gold-embroidered stole showing feasts of Christ.[3] The neck of this *epitrachelion* joins the two columns of Christological scenes with an image of the Holy Trinity in the guise of the three angels who visit Abraham at Mamre.[4]

In practice, the scenes forming the cycle often number more or less than twelve, being frequently supplemented with episodes from the Passion, as here. The cycle of scenes depicted on this stole presents some additional peculiarities. While eleven of the twelve canonical images are present, the final one, the Koimesis, or Dormition of the Virgin, is missing. Furthermore, whereas the scenes normally appear sequentially, as they occur in the life of Christ, here the Baptism of Christ and the Transfiguration are placed out of narrative sequence to accord with the dates of their celebration on January 6 and August 6, respectively.[5] Finally, the Last Supper, a frequent component of the expanded cycle, is here replaced by a pair of images showing the Communion of the Apostles. Rather than narrating the event of the institution of the Eucharist, as the image of the Last Supper does, these images show Christ administering the sacrament to his disciples just as a contemporary Orthodox bishop would have done to his subordinate clergy.[6]

41 (opposite), detail

41, detail

The ornamental fields of interlace at the end of the stole contain letters spelling out a name and title: Matthew, Priest and Monk. Although he cannot be identified, the style of the embroidery suggests a tie to Constantinople. Similar ornamental interlace, sometimes including double-headed eagles, is found on a group of stoles linked to the circle of the patriarchate of Constantinople in the decades before 1500.[7] The ornamental vocabulary of the Sinai stole is especially striking. The scenes appear within interlaced roundels with crosses decorating the smaller loops between each pair. At the sides appear heart-shaped knots, which terminate in the confronted heads of birds and beasts. The tiny motifs between the animal heads suggest artistic sources remote from late Byzantine embroidery. Between each pair of bird heads is a tiny, vestigial representation of a fountain, recalling the fonts from which birds drink in early Christian frescoes and mosaics (fig. 123).[8] The other motif, a pearl suspended between the mouths of two beasts, echoes Chinese silks showing dragons in pursuit of flaming pearls (fig. 124).[9] Both motifs, of course, are here thoroughly divorced from their original cultural meanings and serve only to add richness and delight to the vestment.

ww

NOTES

1. On the narrative and liturgical aspects of the twelve feasts, see Kitzinger 1988, Spieser 1991, esp. pp. 576–78, and Spieser 1999.
2. Compare a fifteenth-century *epitaphion* with sixteen feast scenes at Vatopaidi. Maria Theocharis in *Great Monastery of Vatopaidi* 1998, vol. 2, pp. 437–38, no. 9.
3. Miklosich and Müller 1860–90, vol. 2, p. 568. Compare the stoles preserved at Staraia Ladoga and Putna in Romania (Millet 1939–47) and at Vatopaidi on Mount Athos (Theocharis in *Great Monastery of Vatopaidi* 1998). Millet published, in addition to the Vatopaidi *epitaphion*, two similar stoles from Romania—one from the monastery of Bistriţa (currently in the National Historical Museum in Bucharest) and one with the donor portrait of Alexandru cel Bun and his consort Marina (from Staraia Ladoga, now presumed lost). The latter can be dated, from its portraits, to between 1421 and 1432. Millet 1939–47, pp. 6–7, pls. 5, 8–17.
4. Genesis 18:1–15.
5. This displacement of scenes based on the liturgical calendar is also encountered on the stole of the *skenophylax* Peter at the Great Lavra on Mount Athos. Millet 1939–47, p. 54.
6. On the iconography of the Communion of the Apostles, see Walter 1982, pp. 184–96; Gerstel 1999, pp. 49–52.
7. Millet 1939–47, pp. 13–14. One of these stoles, at the Great Lavra on Mount Athos, bears the inscription of Bishop Joachim of Drama, twice patriarch of Constantinople (1498–1502 and 1504–5) under Sultan Beyazid II. Gedeon 1996, pp. 493–95, 497–98.
8. Compare, for example, the paired doves with fountains in the fifth-century mosaics of the Mausoleum of Galla Placidia, Ravenna. Deichmann 1958, figs. 26–27.
9. Compare the motif as found on thirteenth-century *kesi* panels from central Asia; New York 1997b, pp. 54, 75–79, nos. 17, 18.

REFERENCE

Theocharis 1990, pp. 238–39, 252, fig. 13.

Figure 123 (right top)
Mosaic with two birds drinking from a cup, fifth century. Mausoleum of Galla Placidia, Ravenna, Italy.

Figure 124 (right bottom)
Dragons Chasing Flaming Pearls (detail), Central Asia, thirteenth century or earlier. Silk tapestry (*kesi*). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Cecile E. Mactaggart Gift and Rogers Fund, 1987 (1987.8).

41 (opposite), detail

ΚΥ
Γ΄
ΗΑ ΑΙΚΑΤΕΡΙΝΑ ΚΥΑΕΥΟΜΕΝΗ ΥΠΟ ΤΑΓΓΕΛ

HOLY SITE

God said, "Take off your sandals, for the place where you are standing is holy ground."
EXODUS 3:5

[In modern space] every place is equal to every other. MARTIN HEIDEGGER

The Sinai is not modern. Neither grid, graph, nor map, it is where God met Moses on hallowed ground. Icons from Sinai depict the place the monks call "God-trodden." The concluding section of this exhibition presents the monastery that the emperor Justinian dedicated to the Virgin in the sixth century and explores the monastic experience more generally. Later monks also venerated Saint Catherine. Her relics at the monastery attracted pilgrims from many regions and ultimately gave a new name to the monastery. After the Middle Ages, changing conventions of representation led to new topographical views of the Sinai.

Figure 125 (opposite) Triptych with Virgin of the Burning Bush and the Burial of Saint Catherine, sixteenth century(?) (detail, cat. no. 58).

Η ΜΕΤΑΜΟΡΦΩΣΙΣ
ΤΟΥ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ

42 Transfiguration with Scenes of Monastic Life

Georgios Klontzas

1603, Candia, Crete (?)

Tempera and silver leaf with pigmented varnish on panel

64.8 × 40.5 × 3.4 cm (25 1/2 × 15 15/16 × 1 5/16 in.)

INSCRIBED
Η ΜΕΤΑΜΟΡΦΩCIC ΤΟΥ CΩΤΗΡΟC (The Metamorphosis of the Savior); ΧΕΙΡ ΓΕΩ(ρ)ΓΙΟΥ ΚΑΟΝΤΖΑ ΤΟΥ ΚΡΗΤΟC ΑΧΙΓ. (By the hand of Georgios Klontzas of Crete, 1603)

CONDITION
Gilding restricted to upper register. Uneven varnish layers. Frame consists of applied wooden strips. All sides of panel have been painted orange.

The Holy Monastery of Saint Catherine, Sinai, Egypt

THIS ICON IS ONE OF SEVERAL by Georgios Klontzas that belong to the Holy Monastery of Saint Catherine at Sinai.[1] The Cretan painter never traveled to Sinai but depicted the monastery and its surrounding landscape in at least two other icons—the Spada and the Yorkshire triptychs.[2] He thus developed a characteristic shorthand for the monastery buildings and the Orthodox monks inhabiting them. Although the architectural setting is generic and classicizing, it nonetheless suggests the Justinianic monastery through the repeated depiction of small chapels and the ascending/descending levels of its pictorial surface.[3] The scene of the Transfiguration, or Metamorphosis, at the top of the icon also refers to the sixth-century apse mosaic in the *katholikon* (see figs. 15, 31). Klontzas utilizes Palaeologan iconography for his composition, with an expanded narrative to the right and left of the central scene and emphasis on the "uncreated light" that surrounds the figure of Christ.[4] Elijah and Moses, Old Testament witnesses to the Transfiguration, provide important examples for the contemplative life.

The lower two-thirds of the icon represents moments of daily life within a monastic community. Both young and old monks are included; the more venerable lean on T-shaped staffs for support. A recurring motif is the white string of beads with pendant cross. These prayer beads emphasize the contemplative practices that might achieve a vision of the Transfiguration light represented above.[5] The spiritual and physiological effects are detailed in a later account from Russia: "At first I was weary from continuously repeating the prayer. My tongue became numb and my jaws felt stiff . . . followed by a slight pain in the thumb of my left hand, with which I was counting the knots of the *chokti*. . . . Moreover, all this was somehow urging and compelling me to pray more and more."[6]

The icon, therefore, joins monastic ideals with the specificity of the Sinai monastery. Recently displayed in the Sinai monastery's Chapel of the Holy Fathers, the icon in that setting incorporates the community's martyrs as well.[7]

KH

NOTES
1. See Vokotopoulos 1986, pp. 64, 74 n. 66.
2. On the Spada triptych, see Panagiotes I Vokotopoulos in London 1987, pp. 88–93, no. 74; Baltimore 1988, pp. 154–55, 224–27, no. 69. For the Yorkshire triptych, Vokotopoulos in London 1987, p. 95, no. 75. In the most recent study on Klontzas's life and work, Vereecken and Hadermann-Misguich dated the Spada and Yorkshire triptychs to the late 1570s and the early 1580s, respectively. Vereecken and Hadermann-Misguich 2000, pp. 71–84. For another such panel attributed to Klontzas, see Lazović and Rossier 1968, no. 17.
3. The *katholikon*, or main church, of the monastery is situated at the lowest level within the enclosing fortress walls; to reach the main entrance one already has to go down a short flight of stairs. Forsyth 1968, p. 8.
4. Mount Athos was a formative center for Transfiguration iconography in relation to its defense of Hesychast theology. Millet 1916, pp. 225, 227–28.
5. The prayer beads, or *komboschoini*, accompany repetition of the Jesus Prayer developed in Orthodox Hesychasm. Their modern, secular descendants can be seen in the worry beads used by Greek men today.
6. Savin 1996, p. 16. The *chokti* is a knotted rope identical in function to the prayer beads.
7. Forty monks were massacred in the fourth century at Raithou, and another forty at Sinai. See Kamil 1991, pp. 19–20.

REFERENCE
Drandakis 1990, p. 129, fig. 99.

ΤΟΘΕΟΒ
ΔΑΙΤΟΝ
ΟΡΩϹϹΗΝΑ

43 View of Mount Sinai with Scenes of Monastic Life

Iacovos Moskos

1700–1725

Tempera and gold leaf on panel

28.7 × 39.1 × 1.9 cm (11 5/16 × 15 3/8 × 3/4 in.)

INSCRIBED
ΤΟ ΘΕΟΒΑΔΙCΤΟΝ ΟΡΩC CINA (The God-trodden Mount Sinai); ΧΙΡ ΕΙΑΚΩΒΟΥ ΜΟCΚΟΥ (By the hand of Iacovos Moskos)

CONDITION
Uneven yellow varnish obscures original color, particularly of the pink-colored mountain. Costume details executed in thin paint over applied gold leaf. Icon painted on a single piece of wood with no frame. Large horizontal split runs length of panel; front surface filled with wax.

The Holy Monastery of Saint Catherine, Sinai, Egypt

THIS ICON BY IACOVOS MOSKOS is a late example of a series of topographical icons associated with Sinai. The genre has its roots within pilgrimage maps and illustrations and was mass-produced by engraving and woodcut during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.[1] The views of Mount Sinai by El Greco (fig. 126, and see cat. no. 61, reverse) reflect similar influences. Large-scale figures fill the landscape surrounding the Holy Monastery of Saint Catherine at Sinai, so that Moskos's icon appears well populated. Below, a procession of Sinai monks welcomes the archbishop; two diminutive figures remain at the monastery entrance. Above, monks climb the famous Path of Steps to Jebel Musa, as others, including a pilgrim, descend the much steeper Jebel Katrina.

Just as active are participants from the sacred past. At the far left, Moses bends down to loosen his sandal. The Burning Bush, combined with the Virgin, is at the eastern end of the *katholikon* and marks the chapel where the relic of the Burning Bush is kept. The red shaft of sunlight directs our attention to the Virgin and illustrates a local phenomenon believed to take place once a year, in which light, passing through a gap in the mountain, strikes the site of the Burning Bush.[2] Moses appears a second time at the summit of Mount Sinai as he receives the tablets of the Law, while nearby, the prophet Elijah encounters an angel of the Lord.[3] At the top of the neighboring peak, angels lower Saint Catherine to her resting place and chapel.

The many chapels scattered across the landscape serve as architectural markers for these disparate events, depicted in the icon as if taking place simultaneously. The result collapses time and space and renders all sacred. For a visiting pilgrim, such commemorative and liturgical spaces would confirm his or her experiences at the *loca sancta* of Sinai.[4] The reverse of the panel includes an inscribed cross sketched in red paint.

KH

NOTES
1. It can also be compared with the painting of the monastery by Ioannis Kornaros placed on the back of the Archiepiscopal Throne (1778). On the topographical icons, see M. Chatzidakis 1940; Galavaris 1978a; Kühnel 1981; M. Chatzidakis 1995b. For paper icons, see Papastratos 1990.
2. This is said to occur at the vernal equinox, or March 25, the day of the Annunciation. See Papastratos 1990, p. 338 n. 6; Kühnel 1981, p. 198.
3. Mounts Sinai and Horeb become conflated in the Middle Ages, although the smaller peak beside Jebel Musa at times has been identified as Horeb. See Sivan 1990, pp. 58–59.
4. On the combination of archaeological and ritual spaces, see Coleman and Elsner 1994.

REFERENCES
Galavaris 1978a, pp. 334–38, fig. 7; Kühnel 1981, pp. 163–88, 193–200, 218, fig. 7; Drandakis 1990, p. 131, fig. 100.

Figure 126
El Greco (Greek, 1541–1614), *View of Mount Sinai*, ca. 1570–72. Oil and tempera on panel, 41 × 47.5 cm (16 1/8 × 18 3/4 in.). Historical Museum of Crete, Iráklion.

Ο ΑΓΙΟΣ
ΜΑΚΑΡΙΟΣ
ΧΕΡΟΥΒΙΜ
57.

44 Saint Macarius and a Cherub

Thirteenth century

Tempera on panel

38.2 × 24.9 × 2.7 cm (15 1/16 × 9 13/16 × 1 1/16 in.)

INSCRIBED
Ο ΑΓΙΟC ΜΑΚΑΡΙΟC (Saint Macarius);
ΧΕΡΟΥΒΙΜ (Cherubim)

CONDITION
Former cleaning in area of figures. Face of angel has been repainted and background shows scattered retouching. Panel has engaged frame. Reverse of panel is rough hewn, with striped design on white preparation layer.

The Holy Monastery of Saint Catherine, Sinai, Egypt

THIS HIGHLY UNUSUAL ICON shows Macarius the Great (ca. 300–ca. 390), a hero of medieval monasticism, and a cherub, here a four-winged and many-eyed angel. The cherub takes Macarius by the left hand, and both gesture with their free hands to the viewer's right. The cherub is a composite of angelic types, four winged like cherubim, but many eyed like seraphim,[1] as described in the saint's vita. The meeting represented here refers on one level to the interaction between Macarius and a cherub that was recounted in the seventh- or eighth-century *Life of Saint Macarius of Scetis*.[2] The *Life* narrated several exchanges between the two figures, most notably when the cherub took hold of the holy man and led him to the site where his monastery was to be founded.[3] This spectacular endorsement of the monastery greatly added to the prestige of this famous monastic leader, and the moment depicted on the icon would naturally have had a receptive audience in the milieu of the Holy Monastery of Saint Catherine at Sinai. To underline his monastic identity, Macarius is shown in monastic garb, in contrast to other representations of the holy man as a naked hermit or dressed in rich ecclesiastical garments, for instance.[4] Iconographically comparable is the thirteenth-century fresco at the Monastery of Saint Antony at the Red Sea, but this scene is rare.[5]

Yet the icon was more than a straightforward commemoration, as Macarius was also associated in the Middle Ages with a very popular series of homilies written about 400. One homily presented an allegorical interpretation of cherubic epiphany in which the cherub was identified with the soul illuminated by the Holy Spirit. "Covered with the beauty of ineffable glory of the Spirit [the soul] becomes all light, all face, all eye."[6] Devotional panels from a monastic context like this icon were polyvalent, able to signify various levels of meaning, and the sophisticated audience at Sinai, surely aware of Macarius's reputation as both monastic leader and theologian, would have been perfectly receptive to the icon's hagiographic and theological implications.

GP

NOTES
1. Byzantine artists were flexible when it came to depicting angels. See Peers 2001, pp. 13–60.
2. See Toda 2000.
3. The Coptic version has been translated recently. See Vivian 2004, pp. 168–70 (15–16), p. 178 (22), and p. 182 (27), for the cherub's appearances. The association of Macarius and cherubim/seraphim extended to other texts; see Evetts 1948, pp. 507–8, and Coquin 1975, pp. 115–16.
4. See C. Mango and Hawkins 1966, fig. 40, and Folda 1995, pp. 283–84, respectively.
5. Bolman 2002, pp. 49–51.
6. Dörries, Klostermann, and Kroeger 1964, pp. 2, 31–32 (1.2); Maloney 1992, p. 37.

REFERENCES
Unpublished.

45 Homilies of Gregory Nazianzenus

1136–55.[1] Constantinople

Tempera and gold on parchment

Book: 33.8 × 27.6 × 15.2 cm (13 5/16 × 10 7/8 × 6 in.)

INSCRIBED

In Greek on fol. 3r: The present book was dedicated to the monastery of the Holy Theotokos Pantanassa on the island of Saint Glykeria by the abbot of the imperial monastery of Pantocrator, the monk Joseph Hagioglykerites; on fol. 4r: On July 1st of the 7058 (1550 C.E.), I, Germanous monk and oeconomos of Crete, brought this book, that is the Theologos, to the divine and holy royal monastery of the Great Church of the Holy and God-trodden Mount Sinai; on fol. 437v: The monk Joseph, leader of the monastery of the Pantocrator-Logos, who made this book glittering with silver whiteness, dappled with gold, which Gregory the highest of the people-shepherds, being the mouthpiece of God, composed, presents it to the Monastery of the Pantanassa for the cleansing of his sins.[2]

CONDITION

Very worn leather binding, tooled in panel, stamped design over wooden boards, grooved along outer edges. Binding rebacked in 1997, with newly worked Greek endbands. Brass bosses on upper board; three bosses lost on lower board. Remnants of fore-edge straps on lower board. Beautifully prepared parchment, somewhat cockled at beginning and end of manuscript. Exquisite condition of miniatures, with very little flake loss. Evidence of interleaving curtains (no longer extant).

The Holy Monastery of Saint Catherine, Sinai, Egypt (Sinai cod. 339)

NOTES

1. C. Mango 1992 suggested 1142, with the manuscript being given for the consecration of the church at Hagia Glykeria at that time.
2. Weitzmann and Galavaris 1990, p. 140.
3. This type was adapted from ancient portraits for rendering the Christian evangelists in suitably prestigious ways. See Bernabò 2000.
4. Nelson 1987, p. 75.
5. See Annemarie Weyl Carr in *ODB*, s.v. "Anastasis."

REFERENCES

Galavaris 1969, pp. 255–58; Peers 2004, pp. 59–76.

THE ILLUSTRATIONS AND HOMILETIC TEXTS are bracketed by useful and highly evocative inscriptions on folios 3r and 437v, which help situate the creation of this manuscript in an elite, monastic milieu at the capital. The manuscript was created for and has always been used in monasteries, so it is fitting that the author of the homilies, Gregory Nazianzenus (329–389), should be depicted in monastic habit. Gregory is shown on the left-hand folio (4v) as a monk in the act of writing, in an iconography known as the "author portrait."[3]

This miniature, however, not only presents one of the great Church Fathers monasticized but also offers a complex visual display. The setting for Gregory's act of composition is a golden interior space enclosed by a richly varied field of architectural elements. Gregory's head is set off by an enamel-like halo, the design for which may well derive from Islamic prototypes. Flattened and cubistically rendered, the surrounding field nonetheless evokes a monastic complex. This prismatic setting is full, to be sure, but the gravitational center is the poised writer ready to take his inspiration from the half-length figure of Christ entering the trilobate gold ground above. The illumination creates, for the monastic user of the manuscript, a connotation of ground hallowed in the monastery where similar divinely inspired work is carried out. The manuscript may also be a disguised homage from the monk Joseph (see inscription) to his mentor, Gregorius, who tonsured him at Glykeria; in this way, the church father and mentor could be honorifically combined. The manuscript provides precious insight into twelfth-century monastic patronage.[4]

Part of monastic work was the conscientious performance of the liturgy, and this manuscript was integral in that sense, for it comprises sixteen homilies read during the church calendar. The facing page on view (fol. 5r) shows another intricately woven design, but with the scene of the Anastasis (Resurrection) at its center. The Anastasis is the paradigmatic Easter image in the Orthodox Church,[5] and here it introduces Gregory's First Homily on Easter. Both pages present icons within a book, each part of a dynamic process of making clear their holy use and affect.

GP

45 (opposite), Gregory Nazianzenus writing the homilies, fol. 4v

45 (right), facing page with Anastasis, fol. 5r

Η ΑΓΙΑ
ΘΕΟΔΟΣΙΑ

46 Saint Theodosia

Early thirteenth century, Constantinople

Tempera and gold on panel

34 × 25.6 × 2.2 cm (13⅜ × 10⅛ × ⅞ in.)

INSCRIBED
Η ΑΓΙΑ ΘΕΟΔΟCΙΑ (Saint Theodosia)

CONDITION
Excellent condition. Very minor scattered paint losses. Contours of figures incised and saint has a double-incised halo. Some retouching to abraded gold background.

The Holy Monastery of Saint Catherine, Sinai, Egypt

THE ICON OF SAINT THEODOSIA shows her in a vivid and individualized portrayal set against a simple gold background that embraces both the ground of the icon and its frame. The black costume and headdress identify Theodosia as a nun, while the cross she carries marks her status as a martyr. The portrayal is made more vivid by strong features, subtle shadows, color modeling, and the vivid highlights that give structure and mass to both face and hands. It is an excellent example of Constantinopolitan painting from the first decades of the thirteenth century.[1]

This icon is the finest of the five icons of Theodosia to be found at Sinai.[2] Together, they testify to the popularity of this saint's cult there. Theodosia's origins lie in the period of Iconoclasm, when she emerged as a probably mythical symbol of resistance to the Iconoclastic policies of Leo III. Her cult is known from the tenth century on and was especially strong during the early fourteenth century. She was renowned as a source of healing. Notably, Constantine Akropolites composed a new version of Theodosia's life, which concluded with accounts of her miracles, including his own healing and that of his son-in-law. This healing power continued to be celebrated until the Fall of Constantinople in 1453. Indeed, many citizens of Constantinople were celebrating her feast day at her shrine on May 29, 1453, when the Ottoman Turks captured the city.[3]

The quality of this image and the Constantinopolitan identity of this saint suggest that the icon might have been brought from that sacred city to Sinai, providing a trace of Constantinople's holy powers in that distant location and offering access to Theodosia's particular qualities as a healing saint. The presence of four other images of Theodosia from this period at Sinai suggests her popularity there. The scale of the panel, including the thickness of the board (2.2 cm [⅞ in.]), suggests that this icon might have been intended for the *proskynetarion*, a stand used for the display and veneration of icons on a given saint's feast day.[4]

CB

NOTES
1. Mouriki 1994, p. 213.
2. Mouriki 1994.
3. Constas 1998.
4. Mouriki 1994, p. 213.

REFERENCES
Mouriki 1990, pp. 111, 168, fig. 39, and p. 386 n. 52; Galavaris 1993–94; Mouriki 1994; Constas 1998; Anastasia Drandaki in New York 2004, p. 383, no. 238.

ΑΓΙΟΣ
ΙΩ
ΟΤΣΚΛΙ
ΠΑΚΟΣ

47 Saint John Climacus

Fifteenth century

Tempera and gold with pigmented varnish on panel

23.5 × 18.8 × 2.2 cm (9¼ × 7⅜ × ⅞ in.)

INSCRIBED
Ο ΑΓΙΟC Ιω(άννης) Ο ΤΙC ΚΛΙΜΑΚΟC
(Saint John of the Ladder)

CONDITION
Very good condition. Double-lined, incised halo. Loss to varnish layer(s) has created uneven appearance to gold background. Gilding originally went to outer edge of frame (red-painted border at front covers gilding). Orange paint added to outer edge of frame. Some abrasion in hood of saint at top center. Discolored and uneven varnish.

The Holy Monastery of Saint Catherine, Sinai, Egypt

SAINT JOHN CLIMACUS (before 579–ca. 650), one of the most venerated holy figures in Byzantine monasticism, is prominently commemorated on the fourth Sunday of Lent. A hermit and monk for forty years, he later became the abbot of the Holy Monastery of Saint Catherine at Sinai and, during his tenure, wrote the influential treatise *The Heavenly Ladder* (see cat. nos. 33, 49; see also cat. no. 48). In it he teaches monks how to attain spiritual perfection through thirty actual steps of the ladder. He is frequently depicted in the prefatory miniatures to the *Ladder*, leading the brethren to paradise, but iconic portraits of John Climacus are rare[1]—hence the significance of the Sinai panel.

In the icon, the saint wears a monastic cape, called a *kokoulion*, as well as a three-buttoned cape, or *mandyas*. He holds his text as a rolled-up scroll in one hand and blesses with the other. His gaze, directed slightly to the right, suggests that ultimate authority and salvation rest with Christ, with whom the saint is an intercessor. He is a conduit through which divine blessing is dispensed to the faithful. His monastic garb and gaunt face emphasize that salvation entails adherence to the strict rules of abstinence and dispassion codified in his treatise.[2] As the saint says in his *Heavenly Ladder*, "A monk is shaped by virtues in the way that others are shaped by pleasures. A monk has unfailing light in the eye of the heart. A monk is an abyss of humility in which every evil spirit has been plunged and smothered."[3]

BP

47, reverse

NOTES
1. Sinai cod. gr. 417, from the tenth century, offers an earlier example of such an image. This iconic portrait differs from the numerous images showing the saint in the act of writing. Martin 1954, fig. 1 (iconic), and figs. 14, 16, 18, 24, 25, 69, 180 (author portraits).
2. For the use of emaciated, bodiless forms in the depiction of monks and ascetics, see Maguire 1996, pp. 66–74.
3. Luibheid and Russell 1982, p. 209.

REFERENCES
G. Sotiriou and M. G. Sotiriou 1956–58, vol. 1, fig. 238, and vol. 2, p. 208; Nancy P. Ševčenko in New York 2004, pp. 383–84, no. 239.

48 The Heavenly Ladder of Saint John Climacus

Late twelfth century

Tempera and gold on panel

41.3 × 29.9 × 2.1 cm (16¼ × 11¾ × 13/16 in.)

INSCRIBED

O(σιος) Ἰω(άννης) Ὁ ΤΗϹ ΚΛΙΜΑΚΟϹ (Holy John of the Ladder); O[σιος] ΑΝΤΩΝΙΟϹ ΑΡΧΙΕΠΙϹΚΟΠΟϹ (Holy Antonios Archbishop); on reverse: Ἰ(ησοῦ)Ϲ Χ(ριστὸ)Ϲ ΝΙΚΑ (Jesus Christ conquers)

CONDITION

Figures painted over gold ground except for figures at lower right placed directly over preparation layer. Incised halos and wing for angels. Warm-colored, pigmented varnish used to create detail on God's robe, Antonios's costume, and angel's wing. Minor loss to paint films. Strip of wood added to top of panel.

The Holy Monastery of Saint Catherine, Sinai, Egypt

SAINT JOHN CLIMACUS'S WIDELY PUBLISHED TREATISE, *The Heavenly Ladder*,[1] describes the process of achieving spiritual salvation in thirty steps (see also cat. nos. 33, 47, 49). The present image from the Sinai monastery offers the earliest extant icon illustrating this text and also depicting its author. It borrows its composition from prefatory miniatures in eleventh- and twelfth-century manuscripts of the *Ladder*,[2] visually defining the path to heaven as a ladder with thirty rungs.

The dynamic diagonal of the ladder separates the field into two spheres: heaven and earth. As the monks begin their ascent, their faces and their hands, raised in prayer, are directed toward their salvific goal: Christ. John Climacus at the top of the ladder serves as the model of attaining perfection. His victory against temptations is also reinforced by the image of the triumphant cross on the back of the icon.[3] However, the path is perilous and success is not ensured; the monks' ascent is stalked with temptations and sins depicted as devils with their bows drawn, ready to loose arrows. A few of the brethren fall prey to these snarls; they are dragged by devils using black chains and thrown into the mouth

48, reverse

NOTES

1. Also called *The Ladder of Divine Ascent* and *Ladder of Paradise*.
2. Martin 1954, figs. 12–13, 15, 17, 31, 66–67, 133, 179.
3. Similarly, a number of chapters in the *Heavenly Ladder* finish with the image of the victory crown: step nos. 8, 13, 14, 15, 26 in Luibheid and Russell 1982, pp. 131, 164, 170, 186, 251.
4. Luibheid and Russell 1982, pp. 78, 91, 104, 108–10, 118, 159, 174, 184–85, 194–95, 209, 243–44, 248, 271–72.
5. Luibheid and Russell 1982, pp. 74, 96–98, 111, 181, 195, 235.
6. On textiles and liturgical vestments, see Woodfin 2004, pp. 295–98 (with recent bibliog.).
7. Mouriki 1990, pp. 107–8.
8. For the role of the Holy Cross in imperial ideology, see the discussion on the Limburg *Staurotheke* (container of relics of the Holy Cross), Klein 2004, pp. 105–12.

REFERENCES

Martin 1954; Mouriki 1990, pp. 107, 155, fig. 24; Belting 1994, pp. 272–73; Corrigan 1996; Kathleen Corrigan in New York 1997a, pp. 376–77, no. 247.

Ο ΠΟΛΙΤΙΣ ΚΑΙ ΗΛΙΑΣ
Ο ΑΝΤΩΝΙΟΣ ΑΡΧΙΕΠΙ. ΣΚΗΤΗΣ

of Hades. This visualization of the monks' bitter battles against temptation is a frequent metaphor in the *Ladder*.[4]

To counteract this danger, a second group of brethren has assembled at the lower right; they raise their hands in supplication to the angelic host at the upper left. This second diagonal of the composition reveals how penance and prayers literally and physically pass through the field of battle, lending support to the virtuous and penitent. A particular concept of salvation emerges: a cenobitic life based on prayer, penance, and virtue as a means to salvation. The angelic host above mirrors the righteous monks below, just as the virtuous brethren are often compared to obedient angelic beings in the *Heavenly Ladder*.[5]

The figures next to Christ at the top of the ladder are identified by name: Saint John Climacus and Holy Antonios, the archbishop. The latter's prominent place and costume separate him from the monastic community; he wears sparkling *epimanikia* (cuffs) and *epitrachelion* (sash) of interwoven gold and silk.[6] His high social status matches the lavish decoration on the back of this icon. It features a cross of victory, outlined with a string of pearls and set inside the central medallion of a series of interlocking roundels. This geometric pattern is reminiscent of luxury silks and also appears on the contemporary Sinai icon of the Annunciation (cat. no. 13) and on two tetraptychs.[7] The inscription on the *Heavenly Ladder of John Climacus*, "Jesus Christ conquers," further links this image with the sphere of the elite.[8] The associations with luxury silks and imperial symbols on the back of the icon and the glittering golden clothes and prominent position of the archbishop Antonios on the front suggest that he was either the donor or the recipient of this icon. While offering a quintessential image of ascent to spiritual perfection, this devotional icon paradoxically also displays a taste for luxury.

BP

48 (opposite), detail with Christ

48 (below), detail with devils

صورة سلم الفضايل والرهبان الصاعدين في درجات العمل وقتال الشياطين لهم وهبوط المتوانيين الى الجحيم

49 *The Heavenly Ladder* (in Arabic)

Saint John Climacus (before 579–ca. 650)

1612, Sinai (?)

Tempera and gold on paper

Book: 30.5 × 22 × 4.8 cm (12 × 8⅝ × 1⅞ in.)

INSCRIBED

Main inscription on fol. 13r:
صورةُ سلّم الفضائل و الرهبانِ الصاعدينَ في درجات العمل
و قتال الشياطين لهم و هبوط المتوانين إلى الجحيم
(Image of the ladder of virtues, of the monks ascending on the rungs of [good] works, of the devils' battle against them, and of the fall of the flagging to hell); top-right caption: صورةُ جسد كاترينا (Image of the body of Catherine); center-right caption: صورةُ العفيفة (Image of the chaste one); bottom-right caption: صورةُ موسى (Image of Moses); bottom-left caption: يوحنّا (John)[1]

SCRIBAL COLOPHON

"This book was finished at the hand of the poorest of the servants of God the High, Thabit, the Christian priest from Hama, and that took place about the beginning of the month of Tishrin I [October], in the year seven thousand and hundred and twenty, corresponding to the month of Ramadan of the [Muslim] year 1020."[2]

CONDITION

Undecorated, very worn leather binding over pasteboard covers (warped). Greek-style binding has worked chevron endbands. Paper spine labels chipped. Textblock consists of Arabic paper, burnished. First quire is water damaged through lower two-thirds of the folio. Scattered edge tears and staining throughout. Black text ink in good condition. Considerable abrasion and flake losses in illuminations and gilded backgrounds.

The Holy Monastery of Saint Catherine, Sinai, Egypt (Sinai cod. Arab 343)

THIS SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY MANUSCRIPT translates the words and the images of Saint John Climacus's *The Heavenly Ladder* for Arabic-speaking monks, most likely at Saint Catherine's monastery at Sinai. This manuscript has two illuminations (opposite and below). The initial author portrait follows medieval Greek conventions (see below).[3] John Climacus, though dressed in Muslim style, begins to write his text on the left page, as is proper for Greek, rather than from the right, as in Arabic. He is seated on a bench before a desk, unlike representations of Muslim scribes, who sit on the floor.[4]

The colorful full-page miniature of the Heavenly Ladder, shown here, similarly adapts Byzantine models. As in the late-twelfth-century icon reproduced earlier (see cat. no. 48), the monks on the ladder are tormented, and some are being dragged to the mouth of hell below. At the summit, Jesus leads John Climacus to heaven, represented not as a quadrant of a circle but as a paradisiacal landscape, visually defined as the Sinai. A diminutive Moses at the right kneels before the tear-shaped flames of the Burning Bush with the Virgin and Child inside, as angels above kneel before the body of Saint Catherine wrapped in a red garment (e.g., see cat. no. 43). In the lower left corner, John Climacus appears with monks before the monastery of Saint Catherine with its mosque minaret[5] and grapples with a devil forcing a monk into hell. These references indicate that the scene of spiritual contest is no longer taking place in a generalized sacred landscape but at Sinai itself.

The Ottoman illuminator introduced many features to suit contemporary audiences. Monks mount the ladder from the lower right—not left, as in the earlier icon—and thus follow the direction of the Arabic script. Pastel devils of Ottoman illumination with spots replace the black demons of Byzantium,[6] and the small human-headed figure of hell gives way to a Chinese-inspired dragon of Islamic illumination.[7] Jesus has an Islamic flame halo, and the Virgin and Child are nestled in flames like Ottoman depictions of Abraham in the fire.[8] Probably executed at Saint Catherine's, based on the visual references to Sinai, the illumination is a provincial variant of Persian-derived illumination in the larger region.[9]

RSN

NOTES

1. The Arabic texts have kindly been transcribed and translated by Dr. Simon O'Meara and Professor Dimitri Gutas.
2. Weitzmann 1973, p. 31 n. 114
3. Weitzmann 1973, fig. 45.
4. E.g., Atasoy and Çağman 1974, pl. 43.
5. Weitzmann 1973, p. 32.
6. And 1998, pp. 245–48. I thank Dr. Persis Berlekamp for the loan of this book and for generous guidance.
7. And 1998, pp. 35, 154.
8. And 1998, p. 141; Milstein 1990, pp. 12–13.
9. Atil 1984; Milstein 1990, pp. 12–13

REFERENCES

Atıya 1955, p. 9; Weitzmann 1973, pp. 31–32.

49 (opposite), *The Heavenly Ladder*, fol. 13r

49, John Climacus writing, fol. 13v

50 Double-Sided Icon with Saints Sergius and Bacchus, and with the Virgin

1260s–70s, County of Tripoli, or Sinai

Obverse: Tempera and metal leaf with pigmented varnish on panel; reverse: tempera and silver-colored metal leaf with pigmented varnish on panel

95.3 × 62.9 × 4 cm (37½ × 24¾ × 1⅝ in.)

INSCRIBED

Obverse: ΜΗ(τη)Ρ Θ(εο)Υ (Mother of God); Ι(ησοῦ)C Χ(ριστό)C (Jesus Christ); reverse: Ο Α(γιος) CΕΡΓΙΟC (Saint Sergius); Ο Α(γιος) ΒΑΚΧΟC (Saint Bacchus)

CONDITION

Obverse: The equestrian saints are in good condition despite losses on the borders and a large, vertical crack at the middle. Reverse: Extensive loss to the painted surface. Scattered retouching to painted surface and regilding. Two wooden strips are attached to the bottom edge of panel. Tongue-and-groove joinery with I-shaped void at center suggests additional mount could have been used for object.

The Holy Monastery of Saint Catherine, Sinai, Egypt

OF THE THIRTEENTH-CENTURY ICONS at the Holy Monastery of Saint Catherine at Sinai, a large number depict soldier saints, including equestrian saints, for in the era of the Crusades, there was a surge in the devotion to saints such as George, Demetrius, and Theodore.[1] Saints Sergius and Bacchus, often depicted together, had been venerated since the early Byzantine period, especially among the Christians of Syria, as they'd been Roman soldiers martyred at Rusafah in the early fourth century.[2] This brilliant, two-sided icon has frequently been identified as the product of a Veneto-Crusader atelier at Acre, recently called the Workshop of the Soldier Saints.[3] But new research points to a different identification, supporting other proposals that stress Syrian and Cypriot characteristics.[4] Stylistic comparisons with frescoes at Syrian and Lebanese sites—including frescoes of equestrian saints—argue that, like the frescoes, the Sinai icon was by a Syrian painter, perhaps working for Syrian Orthodox or Melchite

50, reverse

Figure 127 (above left)
Virgin Hodegetria, ca. 1260. Tempera and metal leaf on panel, 111 × 80 cm (43¾ × 31½ in.). Theotokos Monastery, Kaftoun, Archdiocese of Mount Lebanon

Figure 128 (above right)
Baptism, thirteenth century (reverse of fig. 127). Tempera and metal leaf on panel.

Figure 129 (right)
Fresco with Saint Bacchus, 1208. Deir Mar Musa al-Habashi, Syria.

NOTES

1. Folda 2005, pp. 329–30.
2. Walter 2003, 146–62; Fowden 1999, pp. 7–17, 175–91.
3. Jaroslav Folda in New York 2004, pp. 374–75, no. 230; Folda 2005, pp. 338–42, 532–33, 559.
4. Mouriki 1985–86, pp. 68–70, figs. 62–65; Mouriki 1990, p. 119.
5. Immerzeel 2004.
6. Immerzeel 2003.
7. Helou 2003.
8. Yuri Piatnitsky in Saint Petersburg and London 2000, pp. 239–41, no. 857, and pp. 252–54; Hunt 1991; Jaroslav Folda in New York 2004, p. 374, no. 229; Folda 2005, p. 559.
9. Elka Bakalova in New York 2004, p. 353.

REFERENCES

G. Sotiriou and M. G. Soutiriou 1956–58, vol. 1, figs. 185–86, and vol. 2, pp. 170–71; Weitzmann 1984a, pp. 143–84, figs. 3, 4; Mouriki 1985–86, pp. 68–70, figs. 63–64; Mouriki 1990, pp. 119, 192, fig. 66; Yuri Piatnitsky in Saint Petersburg and London 2000, pp. 252–54, no. 863; Dodd 2001, pp. 114–17; Gerstel 2001, pp. 263–85, fig. 5; Nada Helou 2003, pp. 101–31, figs. 6, 7; Immerzeel 2003, pp. 265–86, pl. 6; Evans 2004, p. 75; Jaroslav Folda in New York 2004, pp. 374–75, no. 230; Immerzeel 2004, pp. 29–60, figs. 3–4; Folda 2005, pp. 17–18, 338–42, 532–33, 559, figs. 197, 198.

Figure 130
Virgin Blachernitissa, 1260/70. Tempera and gold leaf on panel, 99.2 × 67 cm (39 1/16 × 26 3/8 in.). The Holy Monastery of Saint Catherine, Sinai, Egypt.

Byzantine Orthodox) churches in the County of Tripoli (fig. 129).[5] Also striking is the similarity between the Virgin of this Sinai icon and the Virgin on a two-sided icon at Kaftoun, Lebanon, dated to around 1260 (fig. 127).[6] The situation is complex, for the Baptism of Christ on the verso of the Kaftoun icon shares stylistic and iconographic motifs with other icons at Sinai (fig. 128).[7] In addition, two images at Sinai—a large Virgin and Child Blachernitissa (fig. 130) and a small panel of Saint Sergius with a female donor—seem to have been produced in the same atelier as the present two-sided Sergius and Bacchus.[8] Moreover, the Virgin Blachernitissa has embossed circles in its gold ground like others found in earlier Sinai images that suggest it was made in close proximity to Saint Catherine's.[9] Thus, it is possible that painters working in the province of Tripoli also worked at Sinai. In contrast, the small image of Saint Sergius seems more likely to have been commissioned for personal use by the donor and offered as a gift on pilgrimage. In the same way, the large two-sided icon might originally have been intended for a Syrian Orthodox or a Melchite church, even as a processional icon, and subsequently presented to Saint Catherine's monastery by an individual or community.

RWC

51 Moses Removing His Sandals before the Burning Bush

Early thirteenth century, Sinai

Tempera and metal leaf over textile on panel

100.5 × 65.7 × 3.1 cm (36⁹⁄₁₆ × 25⅞ × 1³⁄₁₆ in.)

INSCRIBED

[Ε]ΚΑΛΕΣΕΝ ΑΥΤΟΝ [κύριος ἐκ τ]ΟΥ ΒΑΤΟΥ [λέ]ΓΩΝ ΜΩΗΣΗ ΜΩΗΣΗ [ὁ δ]Ε ΕΙΠΕΝ ΤΙ Ε[στιν; ὁ δὲ εἶπ]ΕΝ ΜΗ . . . (The Lord called him out of the bush, saying, Moses, Moses; and he said, What is it? And he said . . . [EXOD. 3:4–5])

CONDITION

Severe abrasion to entire surface, revealing textile support. Figure of Moses has a double-lined incised halo. Loss of inscription in upper right. Donor figure thinly painted over gold. Engaged frame with additional strips added to top and bottom.

The Holy Monastery of Saint Catherine, Sinai, Egypt

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF GOD'S REVELATION to Moses, as told in the Hebrew Bible, for the location of the Sinai monastery and for the life of its monastic community is revealed in the large number of works devoted to the theme of Moses before the Burning Bush. The association of the Burning Bush with the Virgin Mary, to whom the monastery was initially dedicated, provided further impetus for the representation of this theme.[1] Images of Moses before the Burning Bush are found in the earliest decoration of the church—in its great sanctuary mosaic and in a humble bronze cross (cat. no. 35).

The thirteenth-century panel depicting Moses removing his sandals—paired with another representing Moses receiving the tablets of the Law—is the most faithful late copy of the sixth-century mosaic. Scholars have ascribed the two icons to the hand of a Constantinopolitan painter who, in light of the fidelity of the copy, must have worked at Sinai. Of interest is the representation of a kneeling male figure at the left edge of the lower frame. Wearing a turban, this figure has been identified as a Melchite Arab, a member of the Orthodox Christian population that lived in the region. In all likelihood, the diminutive figure was the donor of the panel and its companion piece.[2]

Icons of Moses found at the monastery are of varying size and shape and served a number of purposes, from private devotional works to the adornment of bema doors (cat. no. 22). While lay visitors to the monastery would have envisioned the biblical theophany through its representation, the image of Moses before the Burning Bush would have held special meaning for the religious community. Within a century of this icon's creation, the scene was commonly represented in Orthodox monastic churches, particularly in subsidiary spaces.[3] Mentions in textual sources suggest that representations of Moses before the Burning Bush may have been even more widespread than suggested by the preserved visual evidence.[4] The proliferation of images of Moses before the Burning Bush in the late Byzantine period may have reflected changes in monastic spirituality—changes that would have been felt at Sinai, as well. Due to his extreme asceticism, Moses is viewed in Byzantine texts of the late period as a monastic exemplar. The religious community at Sinai could not have failed to recall him wandering through the desert, a rough topography that they held in common. So, too, Moses' reception of God's voice through the medium of the Burning Bush was a story that would have resonated with monks, who sought to encounter the divine light through sustained prayer, in imitation of the Old Testament prophet.[5]

SEJG

Figure 131
Moses Receiving the Law, early thirteenth century. Tempera on panel, 87.6 × 65.1 cm (34½ × 25⅝ in.). The Holy Monastery of Saint Catherine, Sinai, Egypt.

NOTES

1. See Kristen M. Collins, "Visual Piety and Institutional Identity at Sinai," herein.
2. See Garidis 1993–94; Mouriki 1991–92, p. 184.
3. Among others, the Church of the Savior in Chora (Constantinople); Saint Nicholas Orphanos (Thessaloniki); and the Church of the Archangel Michael (Lesnovo, Macedonia). See also Roussanova 2005.
4. For example, the late Byzantine court poet Manuel Philes composed two short poems on Moses before the Burning Bush and Moses receiving the Law. In all likelihood, these poems were inspired by paintings of these subjects; Miller 1967, vol. 1, p. 266.
5. According to Theoleptos of Philadelphia, writing in the early fourteenth century, a monk "following the example of Moses, ascends the mountain of divine knowledge, is deemed worthy of the divine theophany, hears the divine voice and receives the law of the Spirit"; Smilkowicz 1992, pp. 112–15.

REFERENCES

G. Sotiriou and M. G. Sotiriou 1956–58, vol. 1, fig. 160, and vol. 2, pp. 140–41; Weitzmann 1978, pp. 36, 75, pl. 18; Mouriki 1990, pp. 110–11, 166, fig. 36; Mouriki 1991–92; Garidis 1993–94; Nancy P. Ševčenko in New York 1997a, pp. 379–80, no. 250.

459

52 | Moses with the Virgin and Child

Thirteenth century

Tempera and gold on panel

23.2 × 19.1 × 1.9 cm (9⅛ × 7½ × ¾ in.)

INSCRIBED

Obverse: Ο ΠΡΟΦΗΤΗΣ ΜΩΥΣΗΣ (Prophet Moses); ΜΗ(τη)Ρ Θ(εο)Υ (Mother of God); reverse: Ι(ησοῦ)Σ Χ(ριστὸ)Σ ΝΙΚΑ (Jesus Christ conquers)

CONDITION

Decorative border repainted over black-colored paint layer. Several areas around the figures' feet have been repaired with infills. Exterior profile of top and bottom engaged frame slightly raised.

The Holy Monastery of Saint Catherine, Sinai, Egypt

NOTES

1. See Mouriki 1988, pp. 337–38, for Kyriotissa iconography at Sinai; Weitzmann 1974, p. 39. The other figures represented are Abraham, Isaiah, Joachim, and Symeon; and Saints Theodore, George (twice), and Sabas (twice). One of the Sabas icons was taken to Kiev in the nineteenth century and was subsequently lost in World War II, for which see Etingof 2005, pp. 661–62.
2. Mouriki 1988, p. 338; Mouriki 1990, p. 113.
3. Weitzmann 1975, pp. 56–57, figs. 23–24.
4. Weitzmann 1974, p. 39.
5. Mouriki 1990, p. 109.
6. J. Thomas and Hero 2000, vol. 1, pp. 156, 176.

REFERENCES

Weitzmann 1974, p. 53; O. E. Etingof 2005, pp. 661–62.

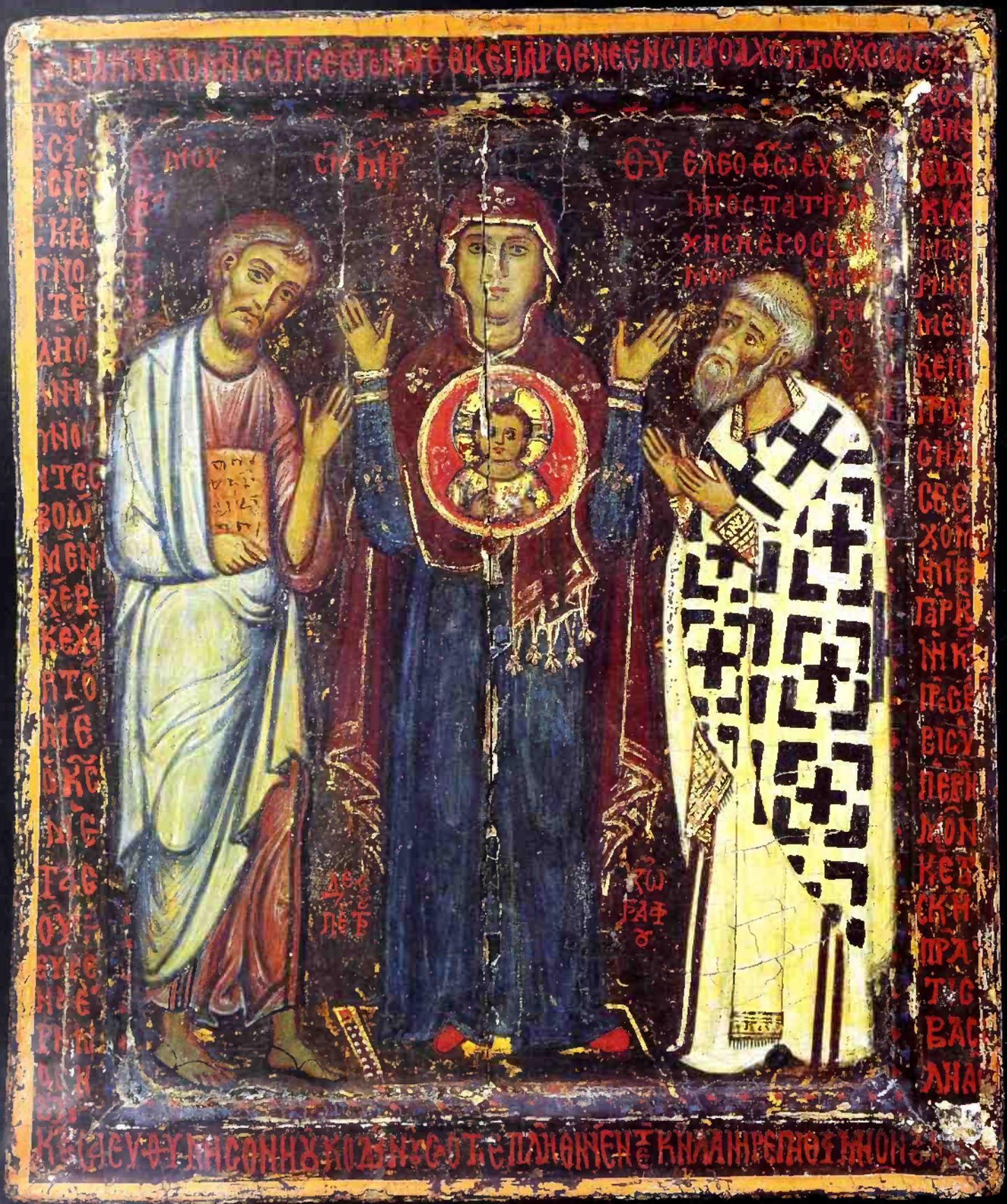
THIS ICON OF MOSES gesturing to a standing Virgin and Child belongs to a series of ten Sinai icons in which a saint or patriarch accompanies the Virgin Kyriotissa, an iconographic type in which the Virgin holds the child in front of her with both hands (fig. 132).[1] The version seen here is explicitly identified as the Virgin of the Burning Bush on a thirteenth-century Sinai icon with Sinaitic saints (fig. 82), painted by the artist of another icon herein (see cat. no. 53), and may refer to a now-lost icon in the Chapel of the Burning Bush.[2] The same Virgin and Child reappear surrounded by branches and joined by Saint Catherine on a thirteenth-century icon (cat. no. 56), and a seated variant is found on other small icons at the monastery.[3]

Weitzmann has suggested that the icons in this series were commissioned with the name saints of patrons as votive gifts or souvenirs,[4] while Mouriki thought they were made to be given to prestigious pilgrims.[5] Yet if they were gifts or souvenirs, why have none been found elsewhere, and why would the monastery have preserved these images for centuries? Instead, a local painter may have painted them as personal devotional icons for monks in the monastery—hence the repetition of the common names of George and Sabas. Eleventh-century sources document that monks had icons in their cells "for worship."[6] The venerating saint would have provided a model of devotion for the patron at the monastery, and the icons would have retained their significance for subsequent monks at Sinai.

KC, RSN

52, reverse

Figure 132
Isaiah and the Virgin, thirteenth century. Tempera on panel. The Holy Monastery of Saint Catherine, Sinai, Egypt.



53 Virgin with Moses and Patriarch Euthymios II of Jerusalem

The Painter Peter

ca. 1223, Palestine or Sinai

Tempera and metal leaf on textile over panel

45.4 × 37.5 × 1.9 cm (17⅞ × 14¾ × ¾ in.)

INSCRIBED

In badly misspelled Greek: Ο ΠΡ(ο)ΦΗΤΗΣ ΜΟΥΣΗΣ (The prophet Moses); ΜΗ(τη)Ρ Θ(εο)Υ (Mother of God); ΕΛΕΟ Θ(ε)Ω ΕΥΘΥΜΙΟΣ ΠΑΤΡΙΑΡΧΗΣ ΙΕΡΟΣΟΛΗΜΩΝ Ο ΜΑΚΑΡΙΟΣ (The blessed Euthymios, by the mercy of God patriarch of Jerusalem); Μακαρίζομέν σε πάσε ἑ γενεαί, Θ(εοτό)κε παρθένε· ἐν σὶ γὰρ ὁ ἀχώριτος Χ(ριστὸ)ς ὁ Θ(εὸ)ς ἡμ(ῶν) χωριθήνε εὐδόκισεν. Μακάριὴ ἐαμεν κὲ ἡμ(εῖς)· προστ[α]σίαν σε ἔχομ(εν). Ἡμέ(ρας) γὰρ κ(αὶ) νηκτ(ὸς) πρεσβεύις ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν, κὲ τὰ σκήπτρα τῆς βασιλήας τὲς σὲς εἰκεσίες κρατύνοντε. Ἀρὸ ἀνημνοῦντες βοῶμεν· Χέρε κεχαριτωμέ(νη), ὁ Κ(ύριο)ς μετὰ σοῦ (All we the generations call thee blessed, O Virgin Theotokos, for in thee He, the Uncontainable One, Christ our God, was pleased to be contained. Blessed are we also [who] have thee as protection, for day and night dost thou intercede for us, and the scepters of the kingdom are strengthened by thine entreaties. Wherefore, with hymns we cry to thee: Rejoice, O Full of Grace, the Lord is with thee);[1] Εὐ(φ)ράνου, ἔρημος ἡ οὐ τίκτουσα, εὐθύμησον, ἡ οὐκ ὠδείνουσα, ὅτι ἐπλήθυνεν τέκνα ἀνὴρ ἐπηθειμένων τῶν τοῦ [Πν(εύματο)ς] (Be glad, O barren one that has not given birth, be of good cheer, thou that hast not travailed; for a man of desires has multiplied [thy] children of the Spirit);[2] ΑΕ(ησις) ΠΕΤΡΟΥ ΖΩΓΡΑΦΟΥ (Prayer of Peter the painter)

CONDITION

Good condition. Chrysography and gilded halo for figure of Christ and costume details. Remnants of gilding in foreground and possibly Virgin's halo. Abrasion and losses throughout black background and engaged frame. Red text has been applied over losses to black ground, suggesting later application. Thick, uneven varnish layer.

The Holy Monastery of Saint Catherine, Sinai, Egypt

UNLIKE OTHER ICONS with diminutive donor portraits (e.g., cat. nos. 10, 11, 42), this one depicts Euthymios II of Jerusalem on the same scale as the adjacent holy figures, the Virgin and Moses.[3] Tonsured as was customary for Eastern Orthodox monks at the time, Euthymios wears a cross-patterned chasuble, or *polystavrion*, that signifies his patriarchal rank. He has no halo, and the word "blessed" before his name means he was already dead when the icon was painted. The patriarch's marble tombstone still stands in the northeast corner of the Sinai basilica and bears a Greek and Arabic epitaph dated Wednesday, December 13, 1223 (fig. 133).[4] The present icon must have been painted around that time and probably hung next to the tomb.[5]

The image of Moses holding the tablets of the Law (from EXOD. 31:18) refers to Sinai as Euthymios's place of burial. One of the short liturgical songs, or troparia, written on the frame honors Saint Euthymios the Great (d. 473), the deceased patriarch's patron saint. The second, a hymn to the Virgin, forms part

53, reverse

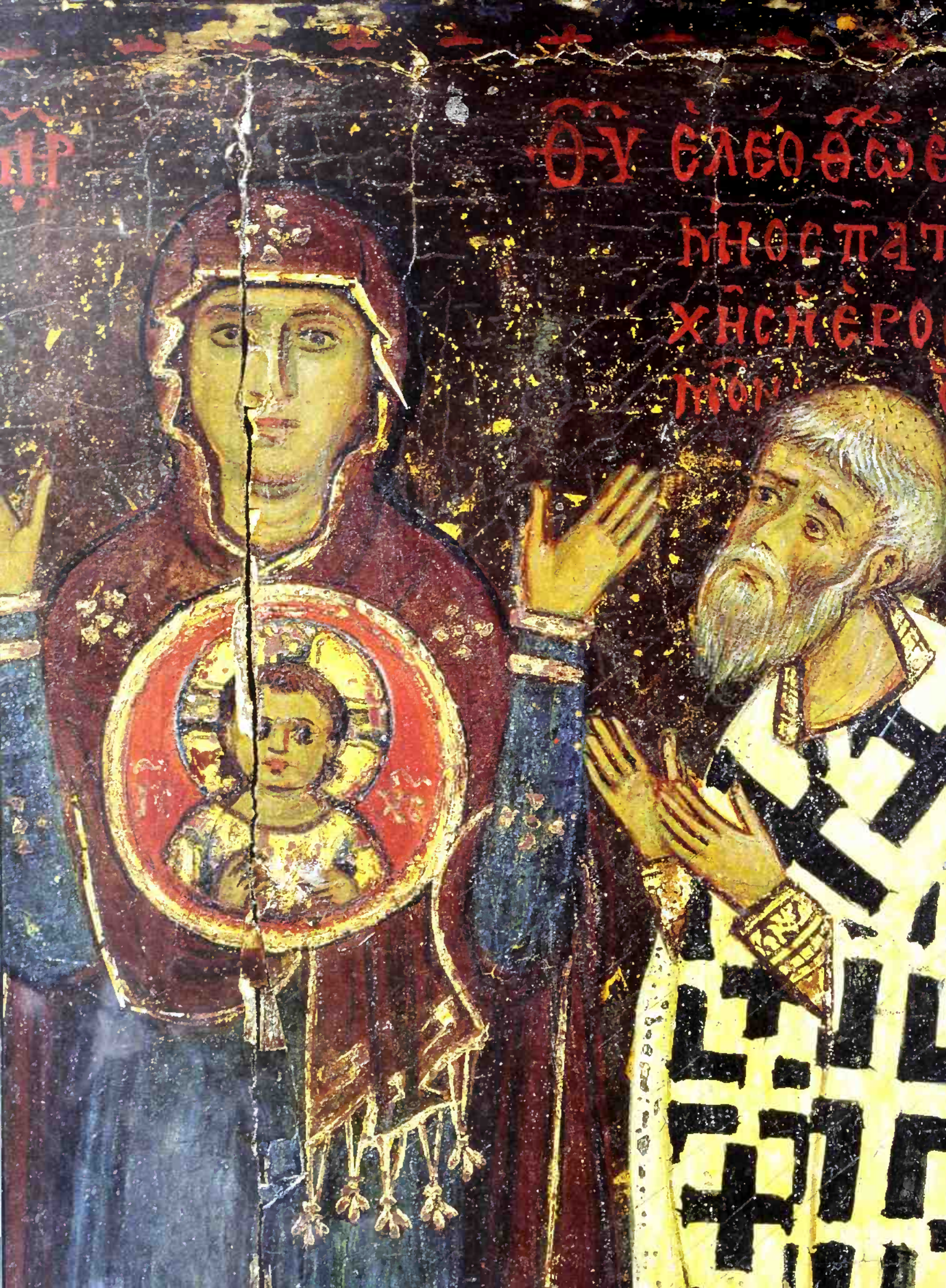


Figure 133
Tombstone of Euthymios, 1223. Inscription on marble. The Holy Monastery of Saint Catherine, Sinai, Egypt. Photo: Robert S. Nelson.

of the daily commemoration of the dead during the midnight church office of nocturns, or *mesonyktikon*,[6] where it precedes the prayer "Remember, O Lord, our fathers and brethren that have fallen asleep in hope of the resurrection of eternal life, and all that have ended their days in piety and faith."[7]

Datable with relative precision, the present work provides a reference point for the chronology of other Sinai icons. The image of Saint John Climacus (see cat. no. 47) is so close to it in manner of execution that it can be ascribed to the same painter. The artist signed his name here, which is unusual, in a short prayer below the edge of the Virgin's mantle. Similar inscriptions by him are found on three more Sinai panels.[8]

GRP

NOTES

1. *Great Horologion* 1997, p. 37; compare *Festal Menaion* 1977, p. 516.
2. *Great Horologion* 1997, p. 393.
3. On Euthymios II, see Pahlitzsch 2001, p. 258.
4. Tafrali 1913, pp. 78–80, no. 2; Rabino 1938, pp. 27, 103, nos. 33–34, 114; on the date, compare Grumel 1962, pp. 197–98.
5. On funerary portraits in Byzantine painting, see Papamastorakis 1996; Weissbrod 2003, pp. 79–171 (with bibliog.).
6. On the significance of this part of nocturns, see Simmons 1984, p. 26.
7. *Great Horologion* 1997, pp. 37–38.
8. Mouriki 1988.

REFERENCES

Amantos 1928, p. 47; G. Sotiriou and M. G. Sotiriou 1956–58, vol. 1, fig. 158, and vol. 2, pp. 138–39; Abrantis 1986, pp. 93–104, fig. 51; Mouriki 1988, pp. 329–31, 335–37, figs. 1–4, 16, 18; Mouriki 1990, pp. 112–13, 175, fig. 48, and p. 386 n. 60 (with bibliog.); Mouriki 1995, p. 122, no. 12; Lidov 1999, pp. 98–99, no. 29; Baltoyanni 2000, pp. 139–41.

53 (opposite), detail

639

54 Saints Nicholas, Sabas, Barbara, and Irene

Twelfth century, Sinai(?)

Tempera and gold on panel

49.7 × 37.5 × 2.5 cm (19⁹⁄₁₆ × 14¾ × 1 in.)

INSCRIBED
O A(γιος) NIKOΛΑΟC (Saint Nicholas); O A(γιος) CABAC (Saint Sabas); Η ΑΓΙΑ ΒΑΡΒΑΡΑ (Saint Barbara); Η ΑΓΙΑ ΙΡΗΝΗ (Saint Irene)

CONDITION
Entire background originally gilded, as seen in areas of loss around Saint Barbara's feet. Pink marbleized background in lower half of composition later addition. In lower register, large losses to each of the figures have been retouched.

The Holy Monastery of Saint Catherine, Sinai, Egypt

NOTES
1. See Yuri Piatnitsky in New York 1997a, pp. 122–23, no. 69.
2. Treadgold 1982, p. 237.
3. New York 1997a, pp. 60–62.
4. Kühnel 2001, pp. 353–62.
5. Dodd 2001, pp. 62–63.
6. G. Sotiriou and M. G. Sotiriou 1956–58, vol. 1, fig. 184.
7. Weitzmann 1966b, fig. 124, b.

REFERENCES
Unpublished.

54, reverse

THIS ICON OF FOUR SAINTS is deceptively simple. Two male saints, Nicholas and Sabas, at the left, balance two female saints, Barbara and Irene, at the right. The men make a gesture of speech or blessing and hold a book or scroll. Each woman grasps a martyr's cross in her right hand and makes a gesture of acknowledgment with her left. The men are accorded the more dominant gestures with the superior hand, and the women the more distinctive garments—Barbara's bright red tunic and Irene's gilded imperial *loros* and *thorakion*.

The four saints in a row recall menologia icons (see cat. no. 31), but the reason for their selection is less clear. Only three of these saints' feast days are contiguous (Barbara, Dec. 4; Sabas, Dec. 5; and Nicholas, Dec. 6); Irene's falls much later in the liturgical year (Aug. 9). Normally, when several saints appear on the same icon, they are of a common type; for example, military saints.[1]

The placement and cult of each of these four saints do, however, provide clues to their inclusion. The two outer saints are more universal, the inner saints more local. In Byzantine art, center trumps side, and stage left supercedes stage right. Thus, compositionally, the male half and Sabas rank higher than the female half and Barbara. At the sides are Nicholas, one of the most popular saints in the Byzantine Empire, and Irene, less common but an empress and supporter of icons during the Iconoclastic period.[2] Sabas and Barbara were important regionally. Sabas founded a major monastery in Palestine and served as a model for monks. His portrait appears at the center of other monastic saints on the back of an eleventh-century processional cross.[3] The Crusaders embraced Sabas's cult and portrayed him prominently in the redecorated church of the Nativity in Bethlehem.[4]

The cult of Saint Barbara is also associated with Syria and Palestine.[5] She joins Symeon Stylites, another saint from that region, on a thirteenth-century icon at Sinai.[6] Finally, Irene may have been important to Sinai. Dressed similarly to Catherine (cat. no. 55), she was paired with the monastery's new patron on the frame of a thirteenth-century icon of the Crucifixion (cat. no. 15).[7] In sum, Nicholas and Irene contribute their renown and status to the celebration of Sabas and Barbara.

RSN

ΑΓΙΑ
ΕΚΑΤΕΡΙΝΑ

55 Saint Catherine and Scenes from Her Life

Early thirteenth century, Sinai(?)

Tempera and metal leaf on panel

75.3 × 51.4 × 2.5 cm (29⅝ × 20¼ × 1 in.)

INSCRIBED

On center panel: left: Η ΑΓΙΑ (Saint), right: ΕΚΑΤΕΡΙΝΑ (Catherine); at top: η α(γία) προσευχομενη (The saint in prayer); η α(γία) . . . (The saint [illegible]); at right: η α(γία) διαλεγόμενη (The saint interrogated); προσπεσών(τες) ή ρητορες η(ς) τοὺς πόδας τ(ῆ)ς ἁγ(ίας) (The rhetors falling at the feet of the saint); η ρητορες εν τη καμ(ιν)ω (The rhetors in the furnace); at left: η αγ(ία) τύπτετε (The saint is struck); πρόσπεσων η δέσποινα τὴν α(γίαν) εν τη φυλακει (The empress falling before the saint in the prison); η α(γία) δηαλεγομένη μετὰ τοῦ ἐπαρ(χου) καὶ τοῦ βασιλεος (The saint interrogated by the eparch and the emperor); at bottom: η α(γία) εν το τροχω (The saint on the wheel) ; [ή] α(γία) και η δε[σποι]να δηαλεγόμεναι . . . β[ασιλ(έως)] (The saint and the empress interrogated [by the] emperor); η αγ(ίες) ξυφη τεληοῦνται (The saints are put to death by the sword)[1]

CONDITION

Scattered flake losses in gilded and painted surfaces. Majority of losses are along the vertical cracks through panel. Halos are painted. Very uneven, amber-colored varnish. Panel is warped in two parts, creating a washboard effect. Evidence of several structural restoration treatments on reverse of panel.

The Holy Monastery of Saint Catherine, Sinai, Egypt

SAINT CATHERINE IS AN UNUSUAL SUBJECT for Byzantine art. Scholars believe that this panel is the only extended cycle of her life to survive in any medium in Byzantium.[2] It is an interesting example of the possible artistic and social exchanges between the Byzantine East and the Latin West; indeed, Catherine's material and spiritual ties to the monastery named after her (the Holy Monastery of Saint Catherine at Sinai) probably developed as a response to the needs of Latin pilgrims, who traveled to Sinai with hopes of venerating her relics there. Although the sixth-century Justinianic foundation was dedicated to the Virgin, by the early thirteenth century, it was referred to as the Monastery of Saint Catherine by Latin pilgrims. The Greeks did not adopt this name until at least a century later.[3]

This icon displays a regal Catherine in the center of the panel. Her elaborate garb and high crown have been linked to Byzantine female imperial imagery.[4] Alternatively, she has also been said to resemble depictions of the Georgian queen Tamar.[5] That the figure of Catherine can plausibly allude to multiple cultural sources is symptomatic of the icon type, this particular icon, and the nature of the saint herself. The narrative icon format is believed to have accommodated a multicultural audience composed of Greeks, Latins, Georgians, even Muslims, and Catherine was a saint venerated by such diverse groups.[6] Interestingly, the icon eschews all reference to Catherine's relics that constituted an integral part of the monastery's popularity with pilgrims; also, unlike Italian examples, it does not especially concentrate on Catherine's learning and rhetorical skills.[7] Instead, the depiction of the saint's life elaborates on the varied tortures she underwent and her final death by sword. This might have been because, in the eleventh century, a major portion of her relics at Sinai were removed to France, thus initiating yet another phase in the afterlife of this saint.[8]

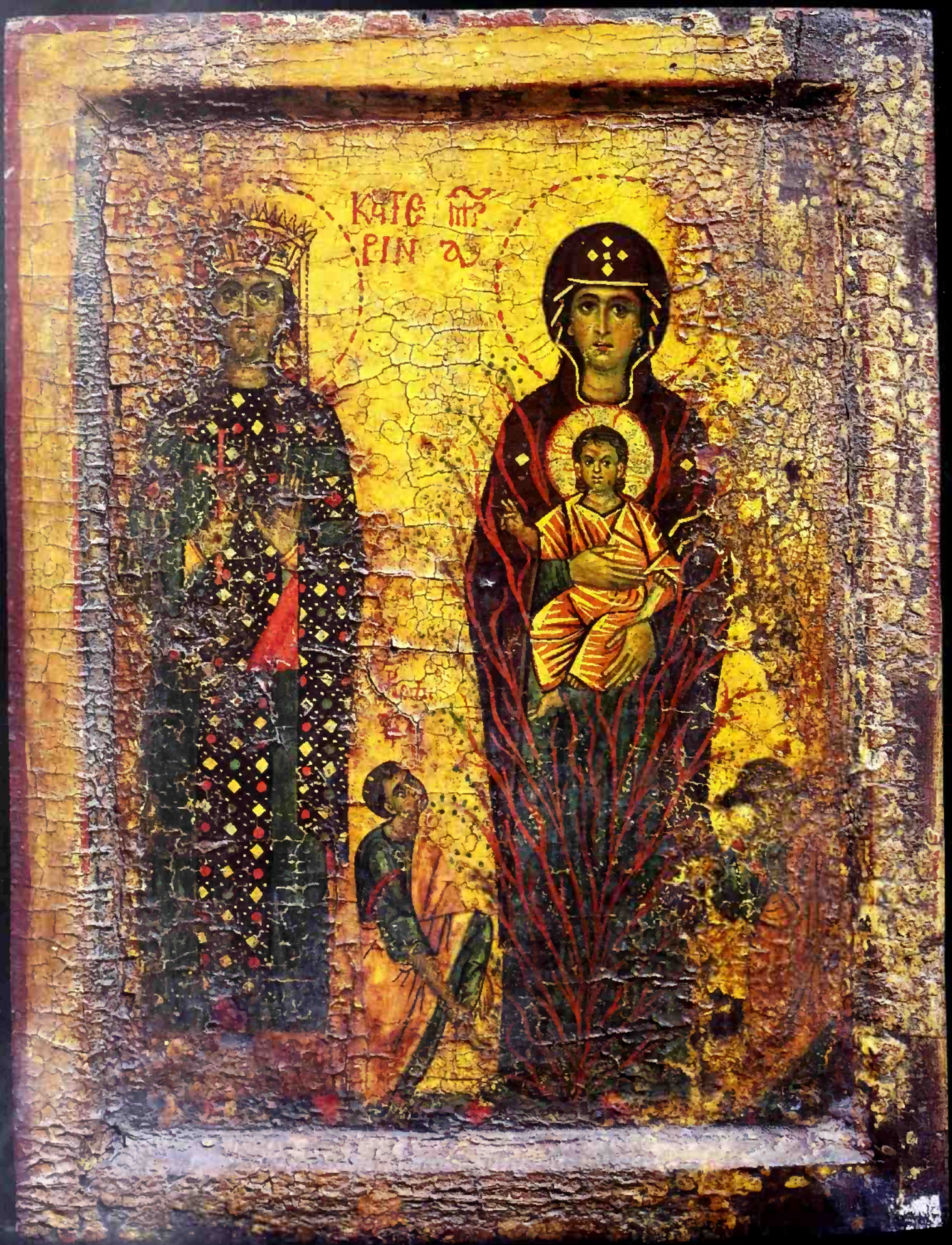
PC

NOTES

1. After Nancy P. Ševčenko in New York 2004, pp. 341.
2. Baltoyanni 1982–83.
3. A typikon for the monastery from the year 1214, written by Archbishop Symeon, is included in the manuscript Sinai gr. 1097; in this text, the monastery is still dedicated to the Virgin and not to Saint Catherine. See N. P. Ševčenko 1999, p. 163. See also her catalogue entry on the same icon in New York 2004, pp. 341–43, no. 201.
4. Mouriki 1990, pp. 114–15. See also G. Sotiriou and M. G. Sotiriou 1956–58, vol. 2, pp. 147–49.
5. Nancy P. Ševčenko in New York 2004, pp. 342–43.
6. For the multiculturalism of Byzantine narrative icons, see N. P. Ševčenko 1999. Ludolph of Suchem, who visited Sinai in the fourteenth century, recounts how the Saracens joined the Latins in kneeling before the relics of Saint Catherine: Stewart 1895, p. 86. See also the account of Felix Fabri: Hassler 1843–49, Stewart 1893–97.
7. The Byzantine icon is often compared with a thirteenth-century Pisan panel of the saint. See Krüger 1992, pp. 65–67; Belting 1994, pp. 377, 380; Peers 2004, pp. 82–83.
8. All Catherine's relics, except a skull and a hand, were transported to France, where they were peddled at Rouen by a Sinai monk known as Symeon the Five-Tongued. See Amantos 1953, pp. 29–31, 34.

REFERENCES

G. Sotiriou and M. G. Sotiriou 1956–58, vol. 1, fig. 166, and vol. 2, pp. 147–49; Mouriki 1990, pp. 114–15, 173, fig. 46; Nancy P. Ševčenko in New York 2004, pp. 341–43, no. 201.



56 Saint Catherine with the Virgin of the Burning Bush

Thirteenth century, Sinai

Tempera and metal leaf with pigmented varnish on panel

38.1 × 29 × 2.9 cm (15 × 11 7/16 × 1 1/8 in.)

INSCRIBED

Η Α(γία) ΚΑΤΕΡΙΝΑ (Saint Catherine); Μ(ήτη)Ρ [Θεοῦ] (Mother of God); ΠΡΟΦ(ήτης) ΜΩΥCΙC (Prophet Moses)

CONDITION

Decoration to Saint Catherine's *loros* is square-cut silver leaf. Christ's halo and details of costume also created with cut metal leaf. Catherine's and Virgin's halos are both incised and painted. Extensive cracking along right, left, and bottom edges of the image. Varnish and surface dirt have accumulated between raised areas. Front of engaged frame covered with an ochre-color paint.

The Holy Monastery of Saint Catherine, Sinai, Egypt

THIS ICON PROVIDES THE EARLIEST EXAMPLE in which the three great cult figures of the monastery are combined in one work. Saint Catherine, wearing the imperial *loros* and a crown with *pendilia*, stands beside the Virgin and Child, enveloped in the winding orange flames and green tendrils of the Burning Bush. Mary's pose bears a strong similarity to a series of thirteenth-century Sinai icons of the Virgin Kyriotissa with a saint or prophet.[1] The present panel documents the rising status of Catherine at the monastery; she is represented as visually equivalent to the Virgin and looks outward to accept the devotions of beholders. To the Virgin's right, a diminutive Moses removes his sandal. An inscription identifies the similarly costumed figure to her left, now obscured by the damage to the panel, as a second Moses, raising a hand either to receive the tablets of the Law or to shield his face while in the presence of God.[2]

The Virgin in flames appeared first in the twelfth century, concurrent with the Latin presence in the Holy Land. A late-twelfth-century icon now in the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate in Jerusalem combines an Annunciation scene with that of Moses before the Burning Bush (see fig. 88).[3] While in Byzantine exegesis, the Burning Bush was understood as a metaphor for the Virgin's purity, the only earlier Byzantine images to express this concept did so obliquely. In two manuscripts of the Homilies of the Monk James from the 1130s, Moses removes his sandals in front of a flaming bush containing a medallion portrait of Christ (see fig. 91).[4] Mary thus appears *as* rather than *in* the Burning Bush. All other twelfth- and thirteenth-century examples showing the Virgin enveloped in, or in proximity to, the flames of the bush can be associated with the Holy Land.[5]

While Catherine holds the cross of martyrdom and turns her left palm outward, as in Byzantine depictions, she wears an emperor's *loros*, not an empress's *thorakion*.[6] The relative size of the Moses figures presents one of the more curious elements of this composition; such a reduced scale would typically be reserved for a donor figure rather than a prophet and the primary figure with whom the site was associated. The oddities of Catherine's costume, the relative prominence of the saint in this composition, and most particularly, the appearance of this highly specific Burning Bush imagery are aspects of the individualized visual language developed at Sinai and suggest that the icon was painted there.[7]

KC

NOTES

1. See cat. no. 52, Moses and the Virgin Kyriotissa.
2. The two images of Moses before the Burning Bush and Moses receiving the Law are paired in the apse mosaics of the church, on the arms of the sixth-century Moses Cross, as well as in two early-thirteenth-century icons at the monastery (cat. no. 51 and fig. 131).
3. Huber 1980, pp. 184–88 and pl. 146. Moses appears twice before the Virgin, who is seated at the center of the flaming bush. An angel gestures to the Virgin, who holds a spindle and is shown with a bust medallion of the Christ child on her breast.
4. *The Homilies on the Life of the Virgin by the Monk James*, Vat. gr. 1162, fol. 54v, and Paris gr. 1208, fol. 73v. See Stornajolo 1910, p. 11, pl. 21; Omont 1927.
5. A twelfth-century fresco of the Virgin and Child in Tripoli showed the central figures flanked by angels and two flames—references to the burning bush—while on the frame of a thirteenth-century Crusader diptych at the monastery an orant Virgin can be seen entwined in the flaming bush. For the Tripoli fresco, Church of Mart Barbara, Barghoun (destroyed in 1997) see Dodd 2004, pl. 24, no. 7; for the diptych of Saint Procopius and the Virgin Kykkotissa, Mouriki 1990, p. 190, fig. 65.
6. A similar costume worn by Catherine in a thirteenth-century icon of Catherine and Marina at the monastery led Kurt Weitzmann to attribute this to the unfamiliarity of the Western artist with proper imperial attire. See Weitzmann 1966b, p. 73, fig. 50.
7. Weitzmann 1974, pp. 53–54, fig. 51.

REFERENCES

Weitzmann 1966b; Weitzmann 1974; Tzvetkova-Ivanova 2000; Drandaki 2004; N. P. Ševčenko 2006; and N. P. Ševčenko forthcoming.

56, reverse

57 Saint Catherine

Martinus of Villanova

1387, Barcelona or Majorca(?)

Tempera and gold over red bole on panel

127.3 × 56.5 × 4.1 cm (50⅛ × 22¼ × 1⅝ in.)

INSCRIBED

Lower left: S(ancta) CATERINA (Saint Catherine); bottom register: Aquest(a) retaula, sia fer.lo honrat, e(n) Be(r)nat M(ar)esa, ciutada de Barch (ino)na. Consol. De. Cathalans. En Domans en l'an M.CCC.LXXXVII (This retable, made for the honorable Bernardo of Maresa, citizen of Barcelona and consul of the Catalans in Damascus in the year 1387); on reverse: MARTIN(us) D(e) VILANOVA PINXIT (Martinus of Villanova painted it).

CONDITION

Extensive restoration in face and robe. Varnish slightly discolored, contributing to matte appearance of surface. Incised lines on gold were used to delineate contours of painted figure and wheel. Appears that artist adjusted contours of figure during painting process; reduction in the contours of the figure were covered with gold leaf. Punchwork (created with two round-shaped tools of different sizes) creates entire design of background; characterized by skips and dense dots. Crown decoration created by colored glazes and punchwork over gold. Frame added later.

The Holy Monastery of Saint Catherine, Sinai, Egypt

NOTES

1. Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Clm 4554; Delehaye 1902, pp. 123–24. The tenth-century Sacramentary of Mont-Saint-Michel also lists the missa de Sancta Katerina. Bibliothèque Municipale Rouen, Ms. sup 116.
2. Duelt (2004, p. 365) cites early-fifteenth-century visits to Catalonia, made by Sinai monks seeking economic support from the kings of Aragon.
3. See, for example, the fourteenth-century panel of Saints Catherine and Bartholomew attributed to Allegretto Nuzi; Davies 1988, pp. 1–2, pl. 1.
4. The skin tones do not appear to have been created with the Italian verdaccio technique, using a green underlayer, but instead the greenish tint has been created using this pigment throughout. I thank Tiarna Doherty for her careful observations of this work during study trips undertaken for this exhibition.
5. Duelt 2004, pp. 366–69. At top right, the coat of arms is not clear. Divided by a cross, the second and third quarters bear the royal bars, while traces of blue pigment in the first and fourth quarters of the shield suggest that they may have borne the coat of arms of the city of Majorca

REFERENCES

Pijoan 1907; Soler i Palet 1912; Cuoyat-Barthoux 1913–14; Manafis 1990, p. 200, fig. 73; Mouriki 1990, pp. 121–23; Duelt 2004.

THIS ALTAR PANEL SHOWS A GRACEFULLY POSED CATHERINE in the International Gothic style. She holds the palm of martyrdom in her right hand while resting her left hand on the wheel at her side. Western devotion to the saint can be documented as early as the ninth century with her inclusion in an index of saints' *passio* in a manuscript in Munich, while her cult grew in Normandy perhaps as early as the eleventh century in response to the relics said to have been brought to the monastery of the Blessed Trinity during the rule of Abbot Isambert.[1] Despite the execution of this work in Italianate style and the prominence of the characteristic Western iconographic element of the spiked wheel, this panel provides a rare example of a Western work whose commission was intimately tied to the holy site of Sinai, rather than the broader cult of Catherine in the West.

The Catalan consul to Damascus, Bernardo Maresa, commissioned this work in 1387, in the period just preceding that in which Barcelona came to rival Venice as a primary point of departure for travelers to the Holy Land. In the kingdom of Aragon, particularly in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the large number of church and altar dedications to Catherine testify to the importance of her cult, while the kings of Aragon demonstrated their support for the monastery more concretely through regular donations.[2] This work stands as a testament, therefore, not merely to the particular devotion to Catherine in fourteenth-century Catalonia but to the reverence this monastery inspired among the faithful of the Latin West.

No evidence remains of the painter, Martinus de Vilanova; his name was not mentioned in any workshops as either apprentice or assistant. The Italian influence on this work can be seen in Catherine's robe of luxurious blue brocade,[3] modeled after Persian silks, and the green cast to Catherine's skin tones.[4] The artist's name suggests that he was a Catalan or Majorcan artist trained in the Sienese style. Daniel Duelt has suggested that the coat of arms indicates a Majorcan provenance.[5] The limited tools used to create the somewhat haphazard punch work also support the idea that this work, though delicately modeled, was not a product of one of the sophisticated ateliers of the capital.

KC

57, detail

58 Triptych with Virgin of the Burning Bush and the Burial of Saint Catherine

Sixteenth century(?), Crete(?)

Tempera and gold on panel

Closed: 63.1 × 41.3 × 8.6 cm
(24 13/16 × 16 1/4 × 3 3/8 in.)

INSCRIBED
Interior: center panel, top left: ΟΡΑCΙC ΤΟΥ ΠΡΟΦΗΤΟΥ ΜΩΥCΕΩC (Vision of the prophet Moses); top right: ΔΕΧΟΜΕΝΟC ΤΟΝ ΝΟΜΟΝ ΥΠΟ ΧΕΙΡΟC Κ(ύριο)Υ (Receiving the Law from the hand of the Lord); bottom: Η ΑΓΙΑ ΑΙΚΑΤΕΡΙΝΑ ΚΥΔΕΥΟΜΕΝΗ ΥΠΟ Τ(ῶν) ΑΓΓΕΛ[ων] (Saint Catherine interred by angels); left panel, top: Ο Α(γι)ος Ιω(άννης) Ο ΠΡΟΔΡΟΜΟC (Saint John the Forerunner [the Baptist]); on scroll: ΜΕΤΑΝΟΕΙΤΕ ΗΓΓΙΚΕΝ [γάρ] Η ΒΑCΙΛΕΙΑ ΤΩΝ ΟΥΡΑΝΩΝ (Repent, for the kingdom of heaven is at hand [MATT. 3:2]); bottom: Ο Α(γι)ος ΙΑΚΩΒΟC (Saint James); right panel, top: Ο ΑΓΙΟC ΑΝΔΡΕΑC (Saint Andrew); bottom: Ο Α(γι)ος ΑΝΤΩΝΙΟC (Saint Anthony); on scroll: ΙΔΟΝ ΕΓΩ ΤΑC ΠΑΓΙΔΑC ΤΟΥ Δι(α)ΒΟΛΟΥ ΓΠΛΩΜΕΝΑC ΕΝ ΤΗ ΓΗ (I saw the traps of the devil spread out over the earth).
Exterior: left panel, top: S. CATERINA (Saint Catherine); bottom: S. MARTINUS (Saint Martin); right panel, top: S. MOYSES (Saint Moses); bottom: S. ANDREAS APL'S (Saint Andrew the apostle)

CONDITION
Excellent condition. Varnish on panels is slightly uneven overall. Incised halos. Carved and painted (over gilding) wooden strips applied over engaged frame of central panel. Exterior sides of triptych box have mortise-and-tenon joins; design motifs incised, carved, and punched. Front cover of box, in foreground, has dark blue/black paint, while borders are stained with a mauve-colored paint.

The Holy Monastery of Saint Catherine, Sinai, Egypt

EVENTS FROM TWO MOMENTS in the sacred history of Mount Sinai are the focus of the central panel of this triptych. In the upper half of the panel, the biblical narrative of Moses receiving the Law of God is depicted in three sequential scenes, all set within a unified rocky landscape. At the left, Moses is halted by the miraculous appearance of the Burning Bush. Within its flames, the Virgin and Child appear in a mandorla of heavenly light (Θεοτόκος ἡ Βάτος), a sign that this Old Testament miracle prefigures the incarnate Christ. In the center, a kneeling Moses obeys the command to remove his sandals. At the far right, he receives the Law tablets from the hand of God. Though painted—for the most part—in a late Byzantine style, this icon depicts the triad of mountains framing the figures of Moses in the manner of post-Byzantine representations of Mount Sinai. Though the icon is not dated, stylistically it compares to other works produced in the sixteenth century.

The transfer of Saint Catherine's relics to the holy site of Mount Sinai is the subject of the bottom scene of this central panel. Two archangels lower the

58, detail

58, exterior with doors closed

body of the saint—clad in crown and imperial robes, her corpse uncorrupted—onto a funerary slab set within this same, three-peaked mountainous landscape. This scene, together with those of Moses above, are frequently found in *loca sanctus* images made for pilgrims to the Holy Monastery of Saint Catherine at Sinai.[1]

Such imagery suggests that the triptych was made at the Sinai monastery, perhaps as a votive offering from a private donor.[2] The four standing saints on the side wings, especially Saint James on the left panel, may also have had special meaning for this site, for the icon is now kept in the chapel dedicated to Saint James.[3] When the triptych is closed, the exterior panels show incised decoration of a different, and likely later, workshop;[4] these carved images include a standing portrait of Saint Catherine and a repeated scene of Moses receiving the Law.

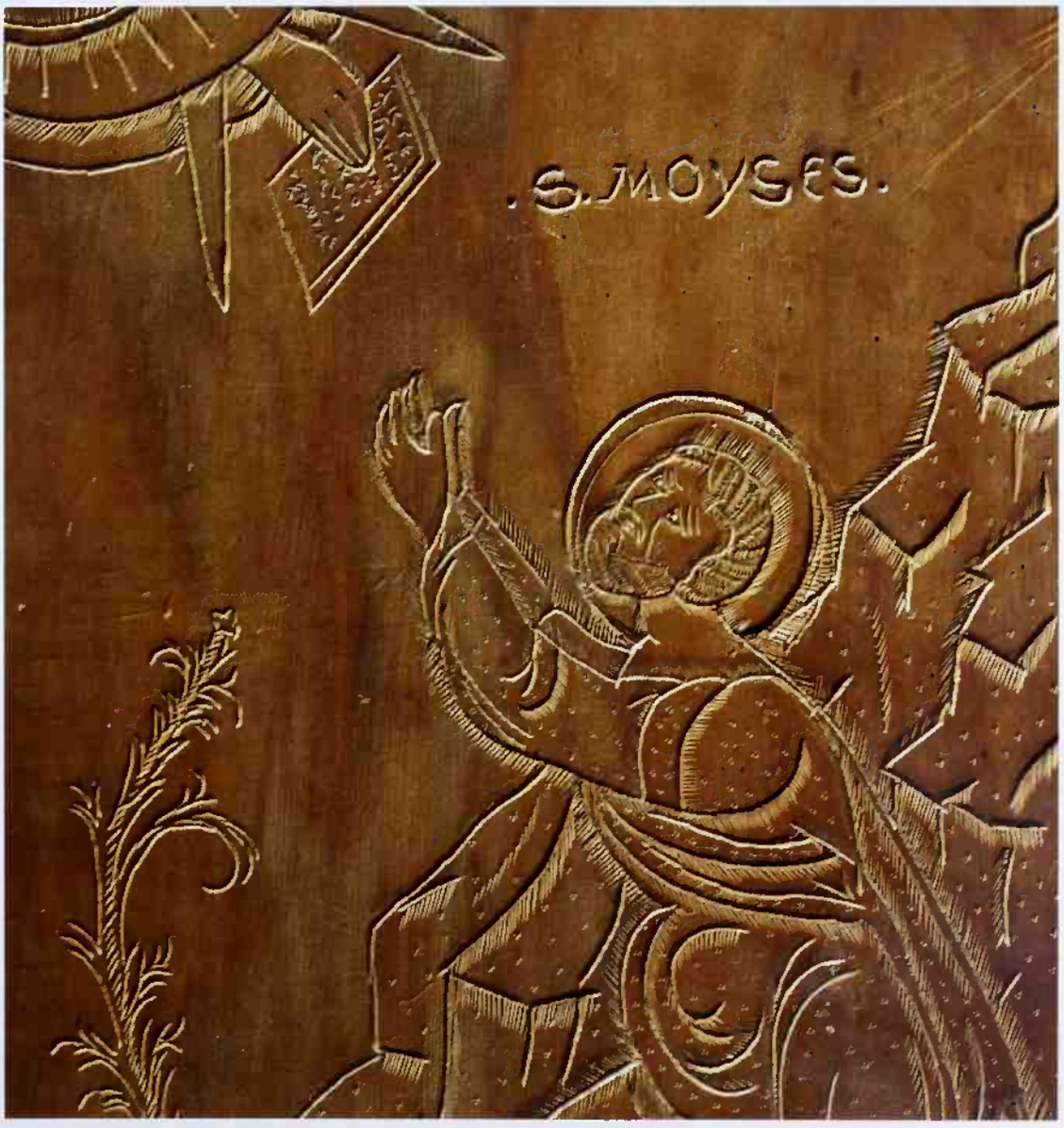
AV

NOTES

1. Weitzmann 1974, pp. 53–55, figs. 54–55.
2. Portable icons were frequently commissioned as private devotional offerings to a sanctuary or holy site: Weitzmann 1974, pp. 53–54.
3. As seen in the photograph published in Forsyth and Weitzmann 1965, pl. 98, fig. A.
4. In contrast to the interior panel paintings, the exterior incised drawings feature inscriptions in Latin script. We can only speculate as to whether the exterior decorations were added later at the request of a Latin donor.

REFERENCE

George Galavaris in *Hiera Monē Sina* 2001, entry for November



58 (left), detail of side showing symbols of the Passion

58 (above), detail of exterior panel with Moses receiving the Law

ΟΡΑΣΙΣ ΒΑΤΟΥ
ΜΩΥΣΕΩΣ
ΒΑΤΟ
ΠΟΙΗΣΑ ΜΙΧΑΗΛ ΤΑΔΕ
ΜΑΣΚΗΤΟΣ

59 The Virgin of the Burning Bush

Michael Damaskenos

Last quarter of the sixteenth century, Crete or Venice

Tempera and gold on panel

111 × 89 × 2.9 cm (43⅝ × 35 × 1⅛ in.)

INSCRIBED

Main inscription, left and right: ΟΡΑCΙC ΤΟΥ ΠΡΟΦΗΤΟΥ ΜΩΥCΕΟC Η ΑΓΙΑ ΒΑΤΟC (Vision of the prophet Moses the Holy Vatos [Virgin of the Burning Bush]); far left: ΤΟ ΟΡΟC ΤΟΥ ΠΡΟΦΗΤΟΥ ΜΩΗCΕΟC (The mountain of the prophet Moses); center left: ΕΚ ΠΕΤΡΑC ΓΛΟΡ ΕΠΟΤΙCΕΝ . . . (Water from the rock quenched [the people] . . .); above head of Virgin: Μ(ήτη)Ρ Θ(εο)Υ (Mother of God); center right: ΚΑΙ ΕΠΟΙΗCΑΝ ΜΟCΧΟΝ ΕΝ ΧΩΝ(ε)Β [τον] (And they fashioned a calf in cast metal); far right: ΤΟ ΟΡΟC ΤΗC Α(γί)ΑC ΑΙΚΑΤΕΡΙΝΗC (The mountain of Saint Catherine); bottom left-hand corner: ΠΟΙΗΜΑ ΜΙΧΑΗΛ ΤΟΥ ΔΑΜΑCΚΗΝΟΥ (Made by Michael Damaskenos); flanking head of John of Damascus: Ο ΑΓΙΟC Ιω(άννης) Ο ΔΑΜΑCΚΗΝΟC (Saint John of Damascus); on scroll: ΓΑΡ ΠΑΘΕΝ Η CΚΙΑ ΤΟΥ ΝΟΜΟΥ ΤΗC ΧΑΡΙΤΟC ΕΛΘΟΥCΗC ΩC ΓΑΡ Η ΒΑΤΟC ΟΥΚ ΕΚΑΙΕ ΤΟ ΚΑΤΑΦΛΕΓΟΜΕΝΗ ΟΥΤΩ ΠΑΡΘΕΝΟC ΕΤΕΚΕC Κ(αὶ) ΠΑΡΘΕΝΟC ΕΜΕΙΝΑC (For the shadow of the Law, having come from grace, came forth. Just as the Burning Bush was not consumed by fire, so too you, Virgin, gave birth, and a Virgin you remained.)

CONDITION

Good condition overall. Abrasion to gold in halos and background reveals red bole beneath. Halos have been incised with a double line. Details including chrysography in Christ's robe and angels in cloud around God the Father created with gold paint. Landscape details and figures incised into gold ground and then painted. Cleaning strip on lower left edge reveals darkened varnish layer prior to 1991 cleaning; a new coat of varnish was applied at this time. Several vertical cracks run through the right side, while scattered surface areas throughout show evidence of consolidation.

Collection of Saint Catherine of Sinai, Irákhion, Crete

THIS PORTABLE ICON, signed by the prominent Cretan painter Michael Damaskenos,[1] depicts Moses' encounters with the divine on Mount Sinai. On the left Moses stands before the Burning Bush, out of whose flames an angel appears, and below he removes his sandals. At the center of the icon, the Virgin holding the Christ child is enthroned within the Burning Bush (Θεοτόκος ἡ Βάτος). Her presence derives from the commentaries of the Byzantine theologian John of Damascus, who compared the bush unconsumed by fire to the Mother of God.[2] In the lower right-hand corner of the panel, the theologian himself gazes on the vision described on his scroll. Above are the scenes of the golden calf and of angels bringing Saint Catherine's body to the Jebel Katrina, one of the three peaks at Sinai.

The Virgin and Child and Moses before the Burning Bush follow Byzantine religious iconography.[3] In contrast, the scene of Moses receiving the Law includes the Western figure of God the Father, whose representation was avoided in earlier Byzantine art.[4] Such skillful combination of Byzantine and Renaissance forms characterizes post-Byzantine Cretan painting.

This icon belongs to the Collection of Saint Catherine of Sinai in Crete, which was once a *metochéion*, or dependency, of the main monastery in Egypt.[5] It probably served as a *locus sanctus* image and was based on contemporary prints.[6] Painted icons and, later, lithographs of this type were produced as votive objects and souvenirs for pilgrims to the holy site.[7]

AV

NOTES

1. The bibliography on Michael Damaskenos is extensive. Sources include M. Chatzidakis 1950; M. Chatzidakis 1985, pp. 101–2; Xyngopoulos 1957, pp. 136–59.
2. Kotter 1975, pp. 119–20. See also Kotter 1988, p. 492.
3. This figural grouping is comparable to another icon by Damaskenos, of the Virgin Brephokratousa in Corfu. See Vokotopoulos 1983, p. 43 n. 46, pl. 2, fig. 1, M. Chatzidakis 1987, p. 245, no. 72, fig. 122.
4. This contrast was noted by Sergio Bettini, who dated the icon to Damaskenos's stay in Venice (1574–79), when the artist decorated the church of San Giorgio dei Greci; Bettini 1934–35, pp. 356–57. Andreas Xyngopoulos similarly found an "Italian" influence in Damaskenos's figure of God the Father, which he compared to Michelangelo's Creator in the Sistine Chapel; Xyngopoulos 1957, p. 150. Nevertheless, he dated the icon to after Damaskenos's return to Crete in 1584, Xyngopoulos 1957, pp. 153–54.
5. The icon had previously belonged to the nearby Vrondisi Monastery in Crete. Around the year 1800, it was given to the *metochéion*, along with four other icons by Michael Damaskenos; Doulgerakis 1958, p. 169.
6. Teuffel 1995, p. 165.
7. Weitzmann 1974, pp. 53–55, figs. 54–55.

REFERENCES

Bettini 1934–35, pp. 356–57, fig. 1; Xyngopoulos 1957, pp. 147, 149–54, pl. 41, fig. 1, Doulgerakis 1958, p. 169; Kretdl-Papadopoulos 1970, p. 100, fig. 78; Lydakis 1976; M. Chatzidakis 1987, p. 245, no. 52.

60 Saint Catherine and Scenes from Her Life

Donato and Gregorio d'Arezzo, Italian (Aretine), act. 1315–ca. 1340

Previous attribution: Master of Saint Cecilia, Italian, act. 1290–1320, or follower

ca. 1330, Italy (Arezzo)

Tempera and gold leaf on panel

Unframed: 100 × 170.2 cm (39⅜ × 67 in.); framed: 113.3 × 180.7 × 10.2 cm (44⅝ × 71⅛ × 4 in.)

CONDITION

Fair condition. Early in the twentieth century the painting was transferred from its original wooden support to a new one, resulting in numerous small losses in the egg-tempera paint layers. Strong cleanings abraded the flesh tones and the gilded background. Saint Catherine's blue drapery and red cloak are largely intact, however, as are other areas throughout the painting, including the areas of original gold, with incised decoration.

The J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles (73.PB.69)

THIS LARGE DOSSAL, which would have been placed on the altar in Italian churches, depicts Saint Catherine of Alexandria. Dressed as a Western noblewoman, she holds the palm of her martyrdom and a book symbolizing her knowledge.

The dossal derives its form from painted panels, or antependia, that decorated the fronts of altars. After the Lateran Council of 1215 the priest celebrated the Eucharist with his back to the congregation. As a result, during the thirteenth century, painted antependia were moved to the top of the altar, forming a backdrop for and a delineation of the altar space.[1] Although early altar panels absorbed formal elements from Byzantine templon beams,[2] the principal function of the altar panels was to identify the saint to whom the altar was dedicated.[3]

Several of the subsidiary scenes that appear to the left and right of the central figure refer to the version of the life and martyrdom of Saint Catherine popularized in Germany and Italy in the late-thirteenth and fourteenth century.[4] This version of Catherine's story includes an account wholly absent in Byzantine versions—the mystic marriage of Saint Catherine, who refused to marry a man who could not equal her in nobility, wisdom, and wealth. A hermit gave Catherine a small panel painting of the Virgin and Child with the instruction to pray to the Virgin to reveal her bridegroom. Through her prayer before this image and her appeal to the intermediary figure of the Virgin, Catherine was able to achieve her mystic union with Christ. This work thus reflects the primacy of images of the Virgin and Child in Italian art and devotion of the Middle Ages.

Unlike the Byzantine vita icon of Saint Catherine herein (see cat. no. 55), the final scene of Catherine's beheading shows angels laying her body to rest on a mountaintop. This element was included in a mid-thirteenth-century panel painting from Pisa and a slightly later dossal by the artist Margarito d'Arezzo (Italian, ca. 1216–ca. 1290).[5]

KC

60, detail

NOTES

1. Van Os 1984, pp. 12–13.
2. Weitzmann 1984, pp. 159–60, fig. 23. Weitzmann gives as one example the thirteenth-century dossal in the Museo Nationale in Pisa, in which the Virgin, Christ, and John the Baptist—the figures traditionally located at the center of Byzantine templon beams—are flanked by Saints Catherine and Silvester.
3. Gardner 1994, pp. 10–11.
4. Schmidt 2001. Schmidt writes that the earliest version of this story comes from the Cistercian monastery of Kaisheim near Donauwoerth but suggests that it must have circulated earlier in Italy as well as in Germany (p. 22 n. 8). For a translation of this manuscript, Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, cod. 7954, fol. 313v–316v, see Varnhagen 1891, pp. 18–23.
5. The panel, now in the Museo Nationale in Pisa, has been discussed in comparison to the vita icon by Weitzmann 1984, pp. 154–55, and Ševčenko, p. 153. The dossal, in the National Gallery in London, shows the Virgin and Child Enthroned, flanked by scenes of the Nativity and the lives of saints. M. Davies 1988, pp. 67–68, pl. 51.

REFERENCES

Boskovits and Gregori 1984, pp. 20–21, n. 41 (for published documentation of reattribution); Van Os 1984; Fehm Jr. 1986, p. 40; Offner 1986, pp. 9–10, 24, 28, 202–209, pls. 18, 18(5); M. Davies 1988, pp. 67–68, plate 51; Gardner 1994; and Schmidt 2001, p. 26, fig. 1.

61 Triptych with Scenes of the Old and New Testaments

El Greco (Greek, 1541–1614)

1569/70, Venice

Tempera on panel

Closed: 37 × 23.8 cm (14⅝ × 9⅜ in.); open: 37 × 60 cm (14⅝ × 23⅝ in.) and 37 × 51.5 cm (14⅝ × 20¼ in.)

INSCRIBED

Center back panel, across the top of the scene: ΤΟ ΑΓΙΟΝ ΚΑΙ ΘΕΟΒΑΛΙCΤΟΝ ΟΡΟC ΤΟ CINEON (The holy and God-trodden Mount Sinai); on the hill to the right of the monastery of Saint Catherine: ΧΕΙΡ ΔΟΜΗΝΙΚΟΥ (By the hand of Domenikos)

CONDITION

The front is pristine. On the back, paint loss to the Adam and Eve panel has exposed yellow areas in several places. The crack across the lower edge of the central scene of Mount Sinai is intentional, constituting the division between the independent central panel and the frame.

Galleria Estense, Modena, Italy

THIS SMALL TRIPTYCH FOR PERSONAL DEVOTION incorporates a scene of Moses at Mount Sinai into a visually and theologically sophisticated design. When the triptych is closed, the six panels reduce to two scenes of the Old Law—on the back, God giving Moses the Law on the mountaintop, and on the front, God speaking to Adam and Eve after Eve was created from Adam's side. Opening the first of the two wings reveals the grace of the New Dispensation: Mary as the new Eve in the Annunciation in the center and the Adoration of Shepherds at the left. Turning aside the inner wing exposes the narrative continuation, the Baptism on the right, and in the center a Counter-Reformation image of a triumphant Christ crowning a Christian knight, a bishop with a tall miter celebrating mass, and devils forcing the damned into a hell mouth (detail, below).[1]

Recent scholarship has resolved the once-contested attribution to El Greco (Domenikos Theotokopoulos, 1541–1614).[2] Still unresolved, however, is whether El Greco painted the triptych in Crete, or, more likely, after his immigration to Venice in 1567/68 under the strong impact of Venetian engravings. The triptych combines the coloration and dramatic settings of Venetian masters with the iconography of European prints. The central scene on the obverse, for example, adds details of the Last Judgment to a Counter-Reformation subject.[3] On the opposite side (see next page), the view of Mount Sinai derives from an engraving of Giovanni Battista Fontana that was printed in Venice in 1569 and suggests that El Greco painted the triptych there before moving to Rome in 1570.[4] Yet the gilded wooden frame resembles those of other Cretan icons of the period (see cat. no. 59) and points to the transitional character of the triptych.

61 (below), detail of central panel

61 (above), reverse

61 (opposite), detail of central panel, reverse, showing Saint Catherine's monastery at the base of Mount Sinai

El Greco painted the Sinai again in a somewhat larger and slightly later panel in Iráklion that can be traced back to the collection of Fulvio Orsini, the humanist adviser to Cardinal Alessandro Farnese in Rome (fig. 126). In both views, pilgrims approach the Holy Monastery of Saint Catherine at Sinai, nestled at the base of two mountains, but the Iráklion version lacks the narrative details of this earlier panel and constitutes an independent landscape, yet another genre of Western painting that El Greco absorbed.[5] The imaginative narrative of this earlier view foreshadows the expressionistic narratives of his later Spanish period.

In this triptych, the clouds part at the top of Mount Sinai and God descends in a flash of yellow to give Moses two white tablets, as the divine energy strikes the dramatically darkened mountain. Unlike in the later topographical view of the Sinai precincts (cat. no. 43), the early Byzantine stairs (see fig. 8) do not continue up the length of the mountain and thus render Moses' presence at the summit yet more miraculous. A shaft of light illumines the site of the Burning Bush, and angels deposit the body of Saint Catherine of Alexandria on the mountain at the right—details absent from the Iráklion version but common to the tradition represented by the later Sinai view (see cat. no. 43). El Greco's version visualizes the site for those—like the painter himself—who never made the pilgrimage he depicts. In the process a living sacred place becomes a beautiful, but dead, landscape.[6]

RSN

NOTES

1. Miesel 1953; D. Davies 2003, pp. 45–46.
2. See the excellent analysis of the scholarly literature by Maria Vassilaki in Iráklion 1990, pp. 156–59, 337–39.
3. A. G. Xydis 1995, pp. 142–43.
4. Constantoudaki 1975; Bray and Oliver 2003, pp. 32–33.
5. Teuffel 1995.
6. On these later illustrations, see Kühnel 1981.

REFERENCES

Maria Vassilaki in Iráklion 1990, pp. 156–85, 337–49; Vassilaki 1995.

Glossary

Akathistos Hymn (from Gr. *akathistos*, "not seated"): sermon in verse sung in honor of the Mother of God while the congregation stands

Akra Tapeinosis (Gr., "utmost humiliation"): representation of the dead Christ on the cross, known in the West as the Imago Pietatis, or Man of Sorrows

acheiropoietos (Gr., "not made by hand"): an image of miraculous origin and/or possessing miraculous properties

ambon: platform in the nave of a church from which, in early Christian times, lections were read and the liturgy was opened and closed

Amnos (Gr., "lamb"): epithet for Christ, referring to his aspect as sacrificial lamb; also denotes the central portion of the consecrated bread, which becomes Christ's body during the liturgy

analabos: part of a monastic habit, a sleeveless vest

analogion: lectern or stand on which books in the early Christian period were placed

Anastasis (Gr., "resurrection"): depiction of Christ bursting open the gates of Hades and releasing figures from the Old Testament; Easter image of the Orthodox Church; one of the twelve Great Feasts

argyrokentema (Gr., "silver embroidery"): silk thread with thin strips of silver loosely wound around it. *See also* chrysokentema

Ascension: feast of Christ's ascent into heaven; represented in art with Christ in a *mandorla*, surrounded by angels, rising over the twelve apostles with Mary at their center

augusta: title reserved for the Byzantine empress

augustos: one of the titles for the Byzantine emperor

autocephalus (from Gr. *auto*, "self," and *kephale*, "head"): referring to an ecclesiastical province with a right to nominate its own bishop

autokrator (Gr., "absolute ruler"): one of the titles for the Byzantine emperor, used with other imperial titles, such as *basileus* and *augustos*

basileus (Gr., "king"): principal title for the Byzantine emperor

bema (Gr., "raised step"): sanctuary in the eastern part of the church, containing the altar and accessible only to the clergy

Canon Tables: system of concordance to the Gospels, devised by Eusebios of Cesarea in the fourth century

cathedra: bishop's throne in the center of the apse

chiton (Gr., "tunic"): wool, linen, or cotton tunic; basic garment of most citizens of the Byzantine empire

chlamys (Gr., "mantle"), *pl.* **chlamydes:** long cloak fastened at the right shoulder; originally part of military costume, later an element of courtly attire

choros: polygonal structure suspended from a dome, carrying *polykandela*, or lamps and candles; introduced in the twelfth century

chrysokentema (Gr., "gold embroidery"): silk thread with thin strips of gold foil loosely wound around it. *See also* argyrokentema

ciborium: domed or pyramidal structure erected on columns over saints' tombs or over an altar (symbolizing the tomb of Christ)

codex: ancient manuscript text in book form; modern book form

coenobitic (from Gr. *koinobion*, "common life"): referring to monasteries in which monks or nuns follow a communal way of life; *coenobitic* monks and nuns adhere to the same schedule, eat together, own communal property and answer to the *hegoumenos*

Coptic: referring to Copts, Egypt's Orthodox Christian population; final stage of ancient Egyptian language, now used only as the liturgical language of the Coptic Church

Deesis (Gr., "entreaty"): representation of Christ between the Virgin Mary and Saint John the Baptist, who interact with Christ on the viewer's behalf

dekanos: secondary Roman officer; later a title often used to denote an imperial messenger, but applied to a variety of other positions

despot (Gr., "lord," "master"): honorary court title of the Byzantine Empire; introduced in the twelfth century to refer to officials second in rank only to the emperor

despotic icon: one of the large icons located in the lower portion of an *iconostasis*, or icon screen, on either side of the royal doors

diakonikon: sacristy room where sacred vessels are kept, usually to the right of the bema in a Byzantine church; also known as *skeuophylakion*

diakonos: deacon

diskokalymma: protective veil placed over the liturgical paten with the sacrament

Docetism: view that Jesus was a divine being who only appeared to be human, explicitly branded as a heresy by Ignatius

dodekaorton: liturgical cycle of the twelve Great Feasts of the Orthodox Church

ekphrasis (Gr., "description"): formal description used to visually evoke the described object or event
enkolpion (Gr., "on the bosom"): object worn around the neck, containing Christian imagery, a sacred relic, or inscription
epimanikia: embroidered cuffs worn over the sleeves of some priestly garments
epistyle: beam of a Byzantine templon
epitaphios: large liturgical cloth symbolically interpreted as the bier of Christ, often embroidered with an image of the dead Christ
epitrachelion: stole worn by a priest during the liturgy
Eucharist: a sacrament and the central act of worship in many Christian churches; the bread and wine that are mystically transformed into the body and blood of Christ on the altar

gammata: ornaments shaped like the Greek letter "gamma," which stands for numeral three and refers to the Trinity
Great Feasts. *See* dodekaorton

hagiasma: holy fountain, holy water, or holy spring (referring to sources of miraculous water)
hagios (Gr.): holy, sacred, saint
hegoumenos, *f.* **hegoumenissa**: superior of a monastery
hesychasm (from Gr. *hesuchia*, "calm," "peace," "recollection"): state of mind appropriate for the contemplation of God; a spiritual current that stressed the importance of achieving this state; often used in reference to those who had abandoned the world to dedicate themselves to contemplation of God and to living in solitude
hieromonk: a monk who is also a priest
himation: an outer garment originally worn by the ancient Greeks over the left shoulder and under the right; in Byzantium the dark cotton mantle worn by monks
homiliary: book of homilies
homily: sermon
horologion: liturgical book of hours, with a schedule of daily prayer
hosios (Gr.): holy, sacred, saint

icon (from Gr. *eikon*, "image"): representation of a sacred figure or event; in a narrow sense, a portable devotional panel
Iconoclasm (in relation to Byzantine art): imperially sanctioned religious movement of the eighth and ninth centuries that denied the holiness of icons and rejected icon veneration
iconophile (Gr., "image lover"): defender of icons and icon veneration, a term coined during the period of Iconoclasm
iconostasis: icon-bearing structure that separates the sanctuary from the nave in Orthodox churches. *See also* templon
idiorrhythmic (from Gr. *idiorrhythmos*, "self-regulating"): referring to an individualized form of monastic life in which monks can acquire personal property, earn income, and eat meat; *idiorrhythmic* monks are administered by an oligarchic council (*synaxis*), rather than falling under the absolute authority of a *hegoumenos*
Imago Pietatis. *See* Akra Tapeinosis
incipit (L., "[here] begins"): opening section of a manuscript, early printed book, or chanted liturgical text

katholikon: main church in a monastic complex
Koimesis (Gr., "dormition"): feast of the death (or "falling asleep") of the Virgin Mary

lection: liturgical reading drawn from the bible
lectionary: book containing *lections* to be read during liturgical services
liturgy (from Gr. *leitourgia*, "service"): ceremonial church service, most often the Eucharist
loros: a long scarf usually studded with gems, worn by an emperor or empress; the empress's loros was sometimes arranged to look like a shield, and the shieldlike part was once mistakenly believed to be a separate part termed *thorakion*

mandorla (Ital., "almond"): art historical term for the almond-shaped halo that surrounds an entire figure to indicate the presence of the divine
maniakion, *pl.* **maniakia:** a kind of neck ring or collar; indicating army rank; often an attribute to military saints
Melchite (also *Melkite*, *Mlqe*): member of the Eastern Orthodox (Chalcedonian) Church in Syria and Egypt (generally dominated by Monophysites)
Menologion, *pl.* **menologia:** collection of saints' lives arranged according to the church calendar
metropolitan: head bishop of an ecclesiastical territory that coincides with a civil province; sometimes interchangeable with *archbishop*
Monophysitism (from Gr. *monos*, "one," and *physis*, "nature"): doctrine holding that there is only one nature in Christ, not two

Nestorianism: doctrine emphasizing that Christ consists of two separate persons, one divine and one human, not one person both divine and human
neume: note or group of notes to be sung as a single syllable
nomina sacra: Christian sacred names, usually written in abbreviated form

Pantokrator (Gr., "All-sovereign"): epithet for Christ; in art, the frontal representation of a stern, dark-bearded Christ who blesses with his right hand and holds a Gospel book in his left

Pascha: Easter
paschal: relating to Easter
pendoulia or **prependoulia:** hanging ornaments on a Byzantine crown
Pentecost (Gr., "fiftieth day"): one of the twelve Great Feasts; the day of the descent of the Holy Spirit on the Apostles
pintel: pin or bolt on which a rudder or other part turns
prefiguration, or **typos** (Gr., "form" or "type"): establishment of Old Testament prototypes for New Testament figures and events
proconsul: Roman title given to a former consul (supreme magistrate) denoting governorship of special provinces
proskynesis: gesture of supplication or reverence, ranging from full prostration to genuflection, bow, or simple greeting
proskynetarion: oratory; in modern, conventional usage, denoting the monumental icon of Christ, the Virgin, or the patron saint of a church; a stand for icons

rinceau: ornament consisting of a continuous foliate scroll with spirals alternately reversing direction

semantron: long instrument made of iron, bronze, or wood, struck by a hammer to summon monks and nuns to services
skeuophylakion. *See* diakonikon
skeuophylax (Gr., "keeper of the vessels"): a cleric, usually a priest, appointed to look after the sacred valuables and liturgical vessels of a church
solidus: Byzantine gold coin
sticharion: long tunic with sleeves worn by higher ranking orders of the clergy
streptos. *See* maniakion
synaxarion: church calendar of fixed feasts with the appropriate readings from the Bible indicated for each one; can also denote a specific collection of brief notices, not always hagiographical
synaxis: an assembly, usually of monastic Fathers; Holy Council

templon: screen that separates the nave from the sanctuary
tessera, *pl.* **tesserae:** small cube used in the construction of mosaics; can be made of various materials, such as glass or stone
Theopaschitism: variant of Monophysitism; belief that God suffered in the flesh
Theotokos (Gr., "Godbearer"): epithet officially assigned to the Virgin Mary at the council of Ephesos in 431 that identifies her as the Mother of God
thorakion. *See* loros
threnos (Gr.): lament
Triodion: book of hymns for the services of the movable Lenten and Easter cycles
Trisagion (Gr., "thrice-holy [hymn]"): "Holy God, Holy Mighty, Holy Immortal, have mercy on us," a chant sung at the beginning of Eucharist and during other liturgical processions
troparion: earliest form of Byzantine hymn; originally a short prayer in rhythmic prose, later strophic and more closely connected to individual feasts; a stanza, an inserted set of lines
typos: *See* prefiguration
typikon: book delineating administrative organization and rules of behavior of a *coenobitic* monastery, including instruction for religious services

Virgin Blachernitissa: image of the Virgin and Child associated with the Blachernai church in Constantinople
Virgin Dexiokratousa (Gr., "right-handed"): variant of the Hodegetria type in which the Virgin holds the Christ child on her right arm
Virgin Eleousa (Gr., "compassionate"): image with Mary bending to tenderly touch her cheek to the cheek of the infant Christ, who puts his arm around her neck
Virgin Glykophilousa (Gr., "sweetly kissing"): term applied to the Virgin Eleousa in post-Byzantine period
Virgin Hodegetria: image of Mary holding the infant Christ on her left arm, Christ grasping a scroll in one hand and making a gesture of blessing with the other; named after the Monastery of Hodegos in Constantinople, where the earliest icon of this type was housed
Virgin Kykkotissa: Cypriot variant of the Eleousa type, in which the Christ child twists to touch Mary's cheek
Virgin Pareklesis ("Intercessor"): image type showing the Virgin almost in profile holding a scroll on which are inscribed the words of a dialogue with Christ in which the Virgin pleads for humankind
vita icon: icon with scenes of a saint's life, usually painted around a central image of the saint

Bibliography

Alibegašvili 1983
Gaiane Alibegašvili. "Illuminated Manuscripts and Painted Icons." In Vaxtang Beridze et al., *The Treasures of Georgia*, pp. 109–61. London, 1983.

Aliprantis 1986
Theologos Chr. Aliprantis. *Moses auf dem Berge Sinai: Die Ikonographie der Berufung des Moses und des Empfangs der Gesetzestafeln*. Munich, 1986.

Alishan 1884
P. Léonce Alishan. "Deux descriptions arméniennes des lieux saints de Palestine." *Archives de l'Orient Latin* 2 (1884), pt. 2, pp. 394–403.

Altbauer 1978
Moshe Altbauer. *Psalterium Latinum Hierosolymitanum: Eine frühmittelalterliche lateinische Handschrift, Sin. Ms. No. 5*. Vienna, 1978.

Amantos 1928
Konstantinos Amantos. *Sinaitika mnēmeia anekdota*. Hellēnika, suppl. 1. Athens, 1928.

Amantos 1953
Konstantinos Amantos. *Syntomos historia tēs Hieras Monēs tou Sina*. Hellēnika, suppl. 3. Thessalonike, 1953.

Amato 1988
Pietro Amato. *De Vera Effigie Mariae: Antiche icone romane*. Rome, 1988.

Amiranašvili 1966
Š. Amiranašvili. *Gruzinskaia miniatiura*. Moscow, 1966.

Anastos 1968
Milton Anastos. "Leo III's Edict against the Images in the Year 726–727 and Italo-Byzantine Relations between 726 and 730." *Byzantinische Forschungen* 3 (1968), pp. 5–41.

And 1998
Metin And. *Minyatürlerle Osmanli-Islâm mitologyasi*. Istanbul, 1998.

Anderson 1979
Jeffrey C. Anderson. "A Manuscript of the Despote Andronicus Ducas." *Revue des études byzantines* 37 (1979), pp. 229–38.

Andreopoulos 2002
A. Andreopoulos. "The Mosaic of the Transfiguration in St. Catherine's Monastery on Mount Sinai: A Discussion of Its Origins." *Byzantion* 72 (2002), pp. 9–37.

Anrich 1913–17
Gustav Anrich. *Hagios Nikolaos: Der Heilige Nikolaos in der griechischen Kirche*. 2 vols. Leipzig and Berlin, 1913–17.

Antonin 1873
Archimandrite Antonin [Kapustin]. "Iz zapisok sinaiskago bogomol'tsa." *Trudy Kievskoi dukhovnoi akademii*, 1873, pt. 3, pp. 363–434.

Aspra-Vardavakis 1986–87
Mary Aspra-Vardavakis. "Oi toihographies tou Agiou Nikolaou stēn Klenia tēs Korinthias." *Diptycha* (Hetaireias Vyzantinōn kai Metavyzantinōn Meletōn), 1986–87, pp. 94–140.

Aspra-Vardavakis 1997
Mary Aspra-Vardavakis. "A Thirteenth-Century Sinai Grand Deesis." In *Drevnerusskoe iskusstvo: Rus', Vizantiia, Balkany, XIII vek*, edited by O. E. Etingof, pp. 105–13. Saint Petersburg, 1997.

Aspra-Vardavakis 1999
Mary Aspra-Vardavakis. "Three Thirteenth-Century Sinai Icons of John the Baptist Derived from a Cypriot Model." In *Medieval Cyprus: Studies in Art, Architecture, and History in Memory of Doula Mouriki*, edited by Nancy Patterson Ševčenko and Christopher Moss, pp. 179–93. Princeton, N.J., 1999.

Aspra-Vardavakis 2002
Mary Aspra-Vardavakis. "Observations on a Thirteenth-Century Sinaitic Diptych Representing St Procopius, the Virgin Kykkostissa and Saints along the Border." In *Byzantinēs eikones: Technē, technikē kai technologia; Diethnes symposio, Gennadeios Vivliothēkē, Amerikanikē Scholē Klasikōn Spoudōn, 20–21 Februarion 1998 / Byzantine Icons: Art, Technique and Technology: An International Symposium, Gennadius Library, The American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 20–21 February 1998*, edited by Maria Vassilaki, pp. 89–104. Iráklion, 2002.

Atasoy and Çağman 1974
Nurhan Atasoy and Filiz Çağman. *Turkish Miniature Painting*. R. C. D. Cultural Institute, no. 44. Istanbul, 1974.

Athens 2000
Mother of God: Representations of the Virgin in Byzantine Art. Exh. cat. edited by Maria Vassilaki. Athens, Benaki Museum, 2000–2001; Milan, 2000.

Athens 2002
A Mystery Great and Wondrous: Year of Salvation 2000. Exh. cat. edited by E. Kyprianou. Athens, Byzantine and Christian Museum, 2001; Athens, 2002.

Athens 2004
Proskunēma sto Sina: Thēsauroi apo tēn Hiera Monē tēs Hagias Aikaterinēs / Pilgrimage to Sinai: Treasures from the Holy Monastery of Saint Catherine. Exh. cat. Athens, Benaki Museum, 2004.

Atil 1983
Esin Atil. "Mamluk Painting in the Late Fifteenth Century." *Muqarnas* 2 (1984), pp. 159–71.

Atiya 1938
Aziz Suryal Atiya. *The Crusades in the Later Middle Ages*. 2nd ed. London, 1938.

Atiya 1955
Aziz Suryal Atiya. *The Arabic Manuscripts of Mount Sinai: A Hand-List of the Arabic Manuscripts and Scrolls Microfilmed at the Library of the Monastery of St. Catherine, Mount Sinai*. Baltimore, 1955.

Babić and Walter 1976
Gordana Babić and Christopher Walter. "The Inscriptions upon Liturgical Rolls in Byzantine Apse Decoration." *Revue des études byzantines* 34 (1976), pp. 269–80.

Bacchi della Lega 1945
Niccolò da Poggibonsi. *Libro d'Oltramare (1346–1350)*. Edited by Alberto Bacchi della Lega. Revised and annotated by Bellarmino Bagatti. Jerusalem, 1945.

Baer 1983
Eva Baer. *Metalwork in Medieval Islamic Art*. Albany, N.Y., 1983.

Baltimore 1988
Myrtali Acheimastou-Potamianou. *Holy Image, Holy Space: Icons and Frescoes from Greece*. Exh. cat. Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, and five other venues, 1988–90; Athens, 1988.

Baltoyanni 1982–83
Chrysanthe Baltoyanni. "Eikona tou Byzantinou Mousiou tne skēnēs apo to bio tēs Hagias Aikatērinas. Ena ergo tēs prōimēs Krētikēs zōgraphikēs." *Deltion tēs Christianikēs Archaiologikēs Hetaireias*, 4th ser., 11 (1982–83), pp. 77–98.

Baltoyanni 2000
Chrysanthe Baltoyanni. "The Mother of God in Portable Icons." In Athens 2000, pp. 138–53.

Barber 2002
Charles Barber. *Figure and Likeness: On the Limits of Representation in Byzantine Iconoclasm*. Princeton, N.J., 2002.

Bartolini 1991
Leonardo Frescobaldi. "Viaggio in Egitto e in Terra Santa." Edited by Gabriella Bartolini. In *Nel nome di Dio facemmo vela: Viaggio in Oriente di un pellegrino medievale*, edited by Gabriella Bartolini and Franco Cardini, pp. 124–86. Bari, 1991.

Baseu-Barabas 1993
Theonie Baseu-Barabas. "Die Speisung des Elias durch den Raben: Ein Epigramm des Manuel Philes als Zeugnis für ein verschollenes Kunstwerk." *Jahrbuch der österreichischen Byzantinistik* 43 (1993), pp. 233–40.

Bellorini and Hoade 1945
Niccolò da Poggibonsi. *A Voyage beyond the Seas, 1346–1350*. Translated by T. Bellorini and E. Hoade. Jerusalem, 1945.

Belting 1980–81
Hans Belting. "An Image and Its Function in the Liturgy: The Man of Sorrows in Byzantium." *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, nos. 34–35 (1980–81), pp. 1–16.

Belting 1990
Hans Belting. *The Image and Its Public in the Middle Ages: Form and Function of Early Paintings of the Passion*. Translated by Mark Bartusis and Raymond Meyer. New Rochelle, N.Y., 1990.

Belting 1994
Hans Belting. *Likeness and Presence: A History of the Image before the Era of Art*. Translated by Edmund Jephcott. Chicago and London, 1994.

Belting and Belting-Ihm 1966
Hans Belting and Christa Belting-Ihm. "Das Kreuzbild im 'Hodegos' des Anastasios Sinaites: Ein Beitrag zur Frage nach der ältesten Darstellung des toten Crucifixus." In *Tortulae: Studien zu altchristlichen und byzantinischen Monumenten*, edited by Walter Nikolaus Schumacher, pp. 31–39. Freiburg, 1966.

Benešević 1925
Vladimir N. Benešević. *Monumenta Sinaitica, archaeologica et palaeographica*. Fasc. 1. Saint Petersburg, 1925.

Bernabò 1998
Massimo Bernabò, with Glenn Peers and Rita Tarasconi. *Il fisiologo di Smirne: Le miniature del perduto codice B.8 della Biblioteca della Scuola Evangelica di Smirne*. Tavarnuzze and Florence, 1998.

Bernabò 2000
Massimo Bernabò. "Ritratto di autore: Dall'antichità ai classicisti, a Bisanzio." In *Immaginare l'autore: Il ritratto del letterato nella cultura umanistica*, edited by Giovanni Lazzi and Paolo Viti, pp. 17–33. Florence, 2000.

Berthold 1985
Maximus Confessor. *Selected Writings*. Translated by George C. Berthold. New York, 1985.

Bettini 1934–35
Sergio Bettini. "Il pittore Michele Damasceno e l'inizio del secondo periodo dell'arte cretese-veneziana." *Atti* (Reale Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti) 94, pt. 2 (1934–35), pp. 356–57.

Birstein, Bykova, and Naumova 1978
V. J. Birstein, G. Z. Bykova, and M. M. Naumova. "Technical Investigation of Three Encaustic Icons from the Museum of Eastern and Western Art in Kiev." In *ICOM Committee for Conservation, Fifth Triennial Meeting, 1–8 October, Zagreb: Preprints*, pp. 1–10. Zagreb, 1978.

Boeren 1980
Petrus Cornelis Boeren, ed. *Rogo Fretellus de Nazareth et sa Description de la Terre Sainte: Histoire et édition du texte*. Koninklijke Nederlandse Akademie van Wetenschapen, Afdeling Letterkunde, Verhandlingen, n.s., 103. Amsterdam, 1980.

Boespflug 1992
François Boespflug. "Un étrange spectacle: Le Buisson Ardent comme théophanie dans l'art occidental." *Revue de l'art* 97 (1992), pp. 11–31.

Bolman 2002
Elizabeth Bolman, ed. *Monastic Visions: Wall Painting in the Monastery of St. Antony at the Red Sea*. New Haven and London, 2002.

Bonnardot and Longnon 1878
François Bonnardot and Auguste Longnon, eds. *Le saint voyage à Jherusalem du Seigneur d'Anglure*. Paris, 1878.

Borsook 1990
Eve Borsook. *Messages in Mosaic: The Royal Programmes of Norman Sicily, 1130–1187*. Oxford, 1990.

Boskovits 1984
Miklós Boskovits. *A Critical and Historical Corpus of Florentine Painting*. Sect. 3, vol. 9, *The Fourteenth Century: The Painters of the Miniaturist Tendency*. Florence, 1984.

Bouras 1989–90
Laskarina Bouras. "Three Byzantine Bronze Candelabra from the Grand Lavra Monastery and Saint Catherine's Monastery in Sinai." *Deltion tēs Christianikēs Archaiologikēs Hetaireias*, 4th ser., 15 (1989–90), pp. 19–26.

Boyd 1988
Susan A. Boyd. "A Bishop's Gift: Openwork Lamps from the Sion Treasure." In *Argenterie romaine et byzantine: Actes de la table ronde, Paris, 11–13 octobre 1983*, edited by François Baratte, pp. 191–202. Paris, 1988.

Boyd and M. M. Mango 1992
Susan A. Boyd and Marlia Mundell Mango, eds. *Ecclesiastical Silver Plate in Sixth-Century Byzantium: Papers of the Symposium Held May 16–18, 1986, at the Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, and Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, D.C.* Washington, D.C., 1992.

Brandenburg 2004
Hugo Brandenburg. *Die frühchristlichen Kirchen Roms vom 4. bis zum 7. Jahrhundert*. Regensburg, 2004.

Braun 1973
John Mary Braun. "St. Catherine's Monastery Church, Mount Sinai: Literary Sources from the Fourth through the Nineteenth Centuries." Ph.D. diss., University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, 1973.

Bray and Oliver 2003
Xavier Bray and Lois Oliver. "Chronology." In *El Greco*, edited by David Davies, pp. 32–41. Exh. cat. London, National Gallery, 2003.

Bréhier 1920
Louis Bréhier. "Les miniatures des 'Homélies' du moine Jacques, et le théâtre religieux à Byzance." *Monuments et mémoires* (Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, Paris, Commission de la Fondation Piot), vol. 24. Paris, 1920.

Bréhier 1936
Louis Bréhier. *La sculpture et les métiers byzantins*. Paris, 1936.

Bremmer 1995
Jan N. Bremmer, ed. *The Apocryphal Acts of John*. Studies on the Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles, vol. 1. Kampen, 1995.

Brightman 1896
F. E. Brightman, ed. *Liturgies, Eastern and Western: Being the Texts, Original or Translated, of the Principal Liturgies of the Church*. Vol. 1. Oxford, 1896.

Brubaker 1999
Leslie Brubaker. *Vision and Meaning in Ninth-Century Byzantium: Images as Exegesis in the Homilies of Gregory of Nazianzus*. Cambridge, 1999.

Bryer and Winfield 1985
Anthony Bryer and David Winfield. *The Byzantine Monuments and Topography of the Pontos*, 2 vols. Washington, D.C., 1985.

Buberl and Gerstinger 1937–38
Paul Buberl and Hans Gerstinger. *Beschreibendes Verzeichnis der illuminierten Handschriften in Österreich*, Vol. 8, *Die illuminierten Handschriften und Inkunabeln der Nationalbibliothek in Wien*. Pt. 4, *Die byzantinischen Handschriften*. 2 vols. Leipzig, 1937–38.

Buchthal 1957
Hugo Buchthal. *Miniature Painting in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem*. With liturgical and palaeographical chapters by Francis Wormald. Oxford, 1957.

Buckton 1994
David Buckton, ed. *Byzantium: Treasures of Byzantine Art and Culture from British Collections*. London, 1994

H. C. Butler 1908
Howard Crosby Butler. *Ancient Architecture in Syria*. Sect. B, *Northern Syria*. Pt. 2, *Il-Anderîn, Kerrêtîn, Marâtâ*. Publications of the Princeton University Archaeological Expedition to Syria in 1904–1905, Division 2. Leiden, 1908.

L. E. Butler 1992
Lawrence E. Butler. "Hagia Sophia's Nave Cornices as Elements of Its Design and Structure." In *Hagia Sophia from the Age of Justinian to the Present*, edited by Robert Mark and Ahmet S. Çakmak, pp. 57–77. New York, 1992.

***Byzantine Museum* 1983**
Byzantine Museum. Nicosia, 1983.

Cahen 1964
Claude Cahen, ed. *Douanes et commerce dans les ports méditerranéens de l'Égypte médiévale d'après le "Minhadj" d'al-Makhzumi*. Leiden, 1964

Caillet 1995
Jean-Pierre Caillet, ed. *L'art du Moyen Âge: Occident, Byzance, Islam*. Paris, 1995.

Cameron 1983
Averil Cameron. "The History of the Image of Edessa: The Telling of a Story." *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 7 (1983), pp. 80–94. Issue entitled *Okeanos: Essays Presented to Ihor Ševčenko on His Sixtieth Birthday by His Colleagues and Students*.

Cameron 1985
Averil Cameron. *Procopius and the Sixth Century*. Berkeley, 1985.

Carbonell and Cassanelli 2003
Edward Carbonell and Roberto Cassanelli. *El Mediterráneo y el arte: Del gótico al inicio del Renacimiento*. Barcelona, 2003.

Cardini 2002
Franco Cardini. *In Terrasanta: Pellegrini italiani tra Medioevo e prima età moderna*. Bologna, 2002.

Carr 1993–94
Annemarie Weyl Carr. "The Presentation of an Icon at Mount Sinai." *Deltion tēs Christianikēs Archaiologikēs Hetaireias*, 4th ser., 17 (1993–94), pp. 239–48.

Carr 2004
Annemarie Weyl Carr. "Thoughts on Mary East and West." In *Images of the Mother of God: Perceptions of the Theotokos in Byzantium*, edited by Maria Vassilaki, pp. 277–92. Aldershot, Hants, England, and Burlington, Vt., 2004.

Cavallo 1977
G. Cavallo. "Funzione e strutture della maiuscola greca tra i secoli VIII–XI." In *La paléographie grecque et byzantine*, pp. 95–137. Paris, 1977.

Cecchelli, Furlani, and Salmi 1959
Carlo Cecchelli, Giuseppe Furlani, and Mario Salmi, eds. *The Rabbula Gospels: Facsimile Edition of the Miniatures of the Syriac MS. Plut. I,56 in the Mediaeam-Laurentian Library*. Olten and Lausanne, 1959.

Cedrenus 1838
Georgius Cedrenus. *Historiarum Compendium*. Edited by Immanuel Bekker. Vol. 1. Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae. Bonn, 1838.

Cerulli 1943
Enrico Cerulli. *Etiopi in Palestina: Storia della comunità etiopica di Gerusalemme*. Vol. 1. Rome, 1943.

M. Chatzidakis 1940
Manolis Chatzidakis. "Mia eikona aphierōmenē sto Sina." In Konstantinos Amantos, *Aphierōma eis K. I. Amanton*, pp. 351–64. Athens, 1940.

M. Chatzidakis 1950
Manolis Chatzidakis. "Ho Domēnikos Theotokopoulos kai hē Krētikē zōgraphikē." *Krētika chronika* 4, no. 3 (1950), pp. 390–96.

M. Chatzidakis 1970–72
Manolis Chatzidakis. "Toichographies stē Monē tēs Hagias Aikaterinēs sto Sina." *Deltion tēs Christianikēs Archaiologikēs Hetaireias*, 4th ser., 6 (1970–72), pp. 205–32. Reprinted in Manolis Chatzidakis, *Études sur la peinture postbyzantine* (London, 1976), no. 8.

M. Chatzidakis 1979
Manolis Chatzidakis. "L'évolution de l'icone aux 11e–13e siècles et la transformation du templon." In *Actes du XVe Congrès International d'Études Byzantines, Athènes, septembre 1976: Chronique du congrès; Art et archéologie*, vol. 1, pp. 333–66. Athens, 1979.

M. Chatzidakis 1985
Manolis Chatzidakis. *Icons of Patmos: Questions of Byzantine and Post-Byzantine Painting*. Translated by Thetis Xanthaki. Athens, 1985.

M. Chatzidakis 1987
Manolis Chatzidakis. *Hellēnes zōgraphoi meta tēn halōsen, 1450–1830*. Vol. 1, *Mia eisagōgē stēn historia tēs zōgraphikēs tēs epochēs*. Kentro Neoellēnikōn Ereunōn. Athens, 1987.

M. Chatzidakis 1995a
Manolis Chatzidakis. "Another Icon of Christ at Sinai." In *Byzantine East, Latin West: Art-Historical Studies in Honor of Kurt Weitzmann*, edited by Christopher Moss and Katherine Kiefer, pp. 487–93. Princeton, N.J., 1995.

M. Chatzidakis 1995b
Manolis Chatzidakis. "To topio tou Sina." In *Domēnikos Theotokopoulos Krēs, keimena 1940–1994*, pp. 141–46. Athens, 1995.

N. Chatzidakis 1994
Nano Chatzidakis. *Byzantine Mosaics*. Athens, 1994.

T. Chatzidakis-Bacharas 1982
Theano Chatzidakis-Bacharas. *Les peintures murales de Hosios Loukas: Les chapelles occidentales*. Athens, 1982.

Chryssavgis 2004
John Chryssavgis. *John Climacus: From the Egyptian Desert to the Sinaite Mountain*. Aldershot, Hants, England, and Burlington, Vt., 2004.

Clark 1953
Kenneth W. Clark. "Exploring the Manuscripts of Sinai and Jerusalem." *Biblical Archaeologist* 16, no. 2 (May 1953), pp. 21–43.

Clédat 1904
Jean Clédat. *Le monastère et la nécropole de Baouît.* Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale du Caire, Mémoires, vol. 12. Cairo, 1904.

Coleman and Elsner 1994
Simon Coleman and John Elsner. "The Pilgrim's Progress: Art, Architecture and Ritual Movement at Sinai." *World Archaeology* 26, no. 1 (June 1994), pp. 73–89.

Congdon 1996
Eleanor A. Congdon. "Imperial Commemoration and Ritual in the *Typikon* of the Monastery of Christ Pantokrator." *Revue des études byzantines* 54 (1996), pp. 161–99.

Constable 2003
Olivia Remie Constable. *Housing the Stranger in the Mediterranean World: Lodging, Trade and Travel in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages.* Cambridge, 2003.

Constantoudaki 1975
Maria Constantoudaki. "Doménicos Théotocopoulos (El Greco) de Candie à Venise: Documents inédits (1566–68)." *Thesaurismata* 12 (1975), pp. 292–308.

Constas 1998
Nicholas P. Constas, trans. "Life of St. Theodosia of Constantinople." In *Byzantine Defenders of Images: Eight Saints' Lives in English Translation*, edited by Alice-Mary Talbot, pp. 1–7. Washington, D.C., 1998.

Constas 2006
Nicholas P. Constas. "Symeon of Thessalonike and the Theology of the Icon Screen." In *Thresholds of the Sacred: Architectural, Art Historical, Liturgical and Theological Perspectives on Religious Screens, East and West*, edited by Sharon E. J. Gerstel. Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection. Washington, D.C., 2006.

Contadini 1998
Anna Contadini. *Fatimid Art at the Victoria and Albert Museum.* London, 1998.

Coquin 1975
René-Georges Coquin, ed. *Livre de la consécration du sanctuaire de Benjamin.* Cairo, 1975.

Cormack 1985
Robin Cormack. *Writing in Gold: Byzantine Society and Its Icons.* London, 1985.

Cormack 2000a
Robin Cormack. "The Mother of God in the Mosaics of Hagia Sophia at Constantinople." In Athens 2000, pp. 107–23.

Cormack 2000b
Robin Cormack. "Sinai: The Construction of a Sacred Landscape." In Saint Petersburg and London 2000, pp. 40–45.

Cormack and Mihalarias 1984
Robin Cormack and Stavros Mihalarias. "A Crusader Painting of St George: 'Mimera Greca' or 'Lingua Franca'?" *Burlington Magazine* 126 (March 1984), pp. 132–41.

Corrigan 1988
Kathleen Corrigan. "The Witness of John the Baptist on an Early Byzantine Icon in Kiev." *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, no. 42 (1988), pp. 1–11.

Corrigan 1995
Kathleen Corrigan. "Text and Image on an Icon of the Crucifixion at Mount Sinai." In *The Sacred Image East and West*, edited by Robert Ousterhout and Leslie Brubaker, pp. 45–62. Illinois Byzantine Studies 4. Urbana, 1995.

Corrigan 1996
Kathleen Corrigan. "Constantine's Problems: The Making of the Heavenly Ladder of John Climacus, Vat. gr. 394." *Word & Image* 12, no. 1 (1996), pp. 61–93.

Coureas 1996
Nicholas Coureas. "The Orthodox Monastery of Mount Sinai and Papal Protection of Its Cretan and Cypriot Properties." In *Autour de la Première Croisade*, edited by Michel Balard, pp. 475–84. Byzantina Sorbonensia 14. Paris, 1996.

Couyat-Barthoux 1913–14
J. Couyat-Barthoux. "Sur une peinture catalane du XIVe siècle trouvée au monastère du Sinaï." *Annari* (Institut d'Estudis Catalans) 5 (1913–14), pp. 729–33.

Cutler 1987
Anthony Cutler. "Under the Sign of the Deēsis: On the Question of Representativeness in Medieval Art and Literature." *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, no. 41 (1987), pp. 145–54.

Cutler 2000
Anthony Cutler. "Under the Sign of the Deēsis: On the Question of Representativeness in Medieval Art and Literature." In Anthony Cutler, *Byzantium, Italy and the North: Papers on Cultural Relations*, pp. 46–64. London, 2000.

Cutler 2002
Anthony Cutler. "Visual Communities in Byzantium and Medieval Islam." In *Visions of Community in the Pre-Modern World*, edited by Nicholas Howe, pp. 37–73. Notre Dame, Ind., 2002.

Dahari 2000
Uzi Dahari. *Monastic Settlements in South Sinai in the Byzantine Period: The Archaeological Remains.* Jerusalem, 2000.

Dalkos 1998
Theodore the Studite. *Logoi antirrētikoi kata eikonomachōn kai stichoi tines iambikoi.* Edited and translated by Konstantinos Ioannis Dalkos. Athens, 1998.

Damianos 1999
Archbishop Damianos. "The Chronicle of the Recovery of the New Sinai Finds." In *The New Finds of Sinai*, pp. 1–24. Athens, 1999.

Darkevich 1975
Vladislav Petrovich Darkevich. *Svetskoe iskusstvo Vizantii: Proizvedeniia vizantiĭskogoĭ khudozhestvennogo remesla v Vostochnoĭ Evrope X–XIII v.* Moscow, 1975.

Darrouzès 1960
Jean Darrouzès, ed. *Épistoliers byzantins du Xe siècle.* Archives de l'orient chrétien 6. Paris, 1960.

D. Davies 2003
David Davies. "El Greco's Religious Art: The Illumination and Quickening of the Spirit." In *El Greco*, edited by David Davies, pp. 45–71. Exh. cat. London, National Gallery, 2003.

M. Davies 1988
Martin Davies. *The Early Italian Schools: Before 1400.* Revised by Dillian Gordon. National Gallery Catalogues. London, 1988.

Davis 1989
Raymond Davis, trans. *The Book of Pontiffs (Liber Pontificalis): The Ancient Biographies of the First Ninety Roman Bishops to AD 715.* Liverpool, 1989.

Deichmann 1958
Friedrich W. Deichmann. *Frühchristliche Bauten und Mosaiken von Ravenna.* Baden-Baden, 1958.

Delaporte 1926
Yves Delaporte. *Les vitraux de la cathédrale de Chartres.* 4 vols. Chartres, 1926.

Delbrueck 1929
Richard Delbrueck. *Die Consulardiptychen und verwandte Denkmäler.* Berlin, 1929.

Delehaye 1902
Hippolyte Delehaye, ed. *Synaxarium Ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae.* Propylaeum ad Acta Sanctorum, vol. 63. Brussels, 1902.

Demus 1970
Otto Demus. *Byzantine Art and the West.* New York, 1970.

Demus 1991
Otto Demus. *Die byzantinischen Mosaikikonen.* Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für Byzantinistik 5. Vienna, 1991.

Dendy 1959
D. R. Dendy. *The Use of Lights in Christian Worship.* London, 1959.

Deshman 1989
Robert Deshman. "Servants of the Mother of God in Byzantine and Medieval Art." *Word & Image* 5 (1989), pp. 33–70.

Destunis 1884
Gabriel Destunis, ed. *Diēgesis Daniēl mētropolitou Ephesou kai periodos tōn hagiōn topōn. Suggramma hellēnikon tēs ie hekatontaetēridos ekdothen, rhōssisti metaphrasthen kai diorthōthen. Pravoslavnyĭ palestinskiĭ sbornik* 8 (1884).

DeWald 1915
Ernest T. DeWald. "The Iconography of the Ascension." *American Journal of Archaeology*, 2nd ser., 19 (1915), pp. 277–319.

Dewing 1954–62
Procopius. English translation by H. B. Dewing, with Glanville Downey. 7 vols. Loeb Classical Library. Cambridge, Mass., 1954–62.

Deycks 1851
Ludolph von Sachsen. *Ludolphi, rectoris ecclesiae parochialis in Suchem, De itinere Terrae Sanctae liber.* Edited by Ferdinand Deycks. Bibliothek des Literarischen Vereins in Stuttgart, vol. 25. Stuttgart, 1851.

Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie
Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie. 15 vols. Paris, 1907–53.

Dix 1945
Gregory Dix. *The Shape of the Liturgy.* 2nd. ed. London, 1945. Repr., New York, 1982.

DMA
Dictionary of the Middle Ages. 13 vols. New York, 1982–89.

Dmitrievskij 1895–1917
Alekseĭ Dmitrievskij. *Opisanie liturgicheskikh rukopisej.* 3 vols. Kiev (Saint Petersburg), 1895–1917. Repr., Hildesheim, 1965.

Dodd 1961
Erica Cruikshank Dodd. *Byzantine Silver Stamps.* Washington, D.C., 1961.

Dodd 1968
Erica Cruikshank Dodd. "Byzantine Silver Stamps, Supplement II: More Treasures from Syria." *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, no. 22 (1968), pp. 141–50.

Dodd 1973
Erica Cruikshank Dodd. *Byzantine Silver Treasures.* Bern, 1973.

Dodd 2001
Erica Cruikshank Dodd. *The Frescoes of Mar Musa al-Habashi: A Study in Medieval Painting in Syria.* Studies and Texts 139. Toronto, 2001.

Dodd 2004
Erica Cruikshank Dodd. *Medieval Painting in the Lebanon.* Wiesbaden, 2004.

Dörries, Klostermann, and Kroeger 1964
Hermann Dörries, Erich Klostermann, and Matthias Kroeger, eds. *Die 50 Geistlichen Homilien des Makarios.* Patristische Texte und Studien, vol. 4. Berlin, 1964.

Doulgerakis 1958
Emmanuel I. Doulgerakis. "Symbolē eis tēn Historian tēs Monēs Brontisiou." *Krētika chronika* 12 (1958), pp. 117–70.

Drandaki 2002
Anastasia Drandaki. *Greek Icons, Fourteenth–Eighteenth Century: The Rena Andreadis Collection.* Translated by John Avgherinos. Milan, 2002.

Drandaki 2004
Anastasia Drandaki. "Hē Monē Sina apo ton 12o eos ton 15o aiona / The Sinai Monastery from the Twelfth to the Fifteenth Century." In Athens 2004, pp. 26–45.

Drandakis 1990
Nikolaos B. Drandakis. "Post-Byzantine Icons (Cretan School)." In Manafis 1990, pp. 124–31.

Dubois 1988
J. Dubois. "Sainte Catherine d'Alexandrie." In *Histoire des saints et de la sainteté chrétienne*, vol. 2, *La semence des martyrs*, edited by André Mandouze, pp. 33–313. Paris, 1988.

Duelt 2004
Daniel D. Duelt. "El viaje de Santa Catalina del Monte Sinai." In *Mediterraneum: El esplendor del Mediterráneo medieval s. XIII–XV*, pp. 363–71. Exh. cat. Barcelona, Museu d'Història de Catalunya and Museu Marítim. Barcelona, 2004.

Durand 1999
Jannic Durand. *L'art byzantin*. Paris, 1999.

Duval 1965
N. Duval. "La représentation du palais dans l'art du Bas-Empire et du Haut Moyen Âge d'après le psautier d'Utrecht." *Cahiers archéologiques* 15 (1965), pp. 207–54.

Ehrhard 1937–40
Albert Ehrhard. *Überlieferung und Bestand der hagiographischen und homiletischen Literatur der griechischen Kirche von den Anfängen bis zum Ende des 16. Jahrhunderts*. 3 vols. Leipzig, 1937–40.

Ekirch 2005
A. Roger Ekirch. *At Day's Close: Night in Times Past*. New York, 2005.

Elsner 1994
John Elsner. "The Viewer and the Vision: The Case of the Sinai Apse." *Art History* 17 (March 1994), pp. 81–102.

Epiphanius of Salamis 1972
Epiphanius of Salamis. "Letter to the Emperor Theodosius." In C. Mango 1972, pp. 41–42.

Van Esbroeck 1982
Michel van Esbroeck. "The Georgian Inscriptions." In Stone 1982, pp. 171–79.

Étingof 2005
O. E. Étingof. *Vizantiĭskie ikony VI-pervoĭ poloviny XIII veka v Rossii*. Moscow, 2005.

Evagrius 1957
Evagrius Ponticus. "Peri diakriseos pathōn kai logismōn, kephalaia eikosi tria." In *Philokalia tōn hierōn neptikōn*, vol. 1. Athens, 1957.

Evans 2004
Helen C. Evans. *Saint Catherine's Monastery, Sinai, Egypt: A Photographic Essay*. Photographs by Bruce White. New York, 2004.

Evetts 1948
B. Evetts, trans. and ed. *History of the Patriarchs of the Coptic Church of Alexandria*. Vol. 2, *Peter I to Benjamin I (661)*. Patrologia Orientalis, vol. 1, fasc. 4. Paris, 1948.

Ewald and Hartmann 1957
Paul Ewald and Ludo Moritz Hartmann, eds. *Gregorii I Papae: Registrum epistolarum*. 2 vols. Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Regstrum epistolarum 1, 2. Berlin, 1957.

Farès 1953
Bishr Farès. *Le livre de la thériaque: Manuscrit arabe à peintures de la fin du XIIe siècle conservé à la Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris*. Cairo, 1953.

Fawtier 1923
R. Fawtier. "Les reliques rouennaises de Sainte Catherine d'Alexandrie." *Analecta Bollandiana* 41 (1923), pp. 357–68.

Featherstone and Holland 1982
Jeffrey Featherstone and Meridel Holland. "A Note on Penances Prescribed for Negligent Scribes and Librarians in the Monastery of Studios." *Scriptorium* 36 (1982), pp. 258–60.

Fehm 1986
Sherwood A. Fehm Jr. *Lucca di Tommè: A Sienese Fourteenth Century Painter*. Carbondale, Ill., 1986.

Festal Menaion **1977**
The Festal Menaion. Translated by Mother Mary and Kallistos, Bishop of Diokleia. 2nd ed. London, 1977.

Firatli 1969
Nezih Firatli. "Découverte d'une église byzantine à Sébaste de Phrygie." *Cahiers archéologiques* 19 (1969), pp. 151–66.

Folda 1992
Jaroslav Folda. "The Saint Marina Icon: Maniera Greca, Lingua Franca, or Crusader Art?" In *Four Icons in the Menil Collection*, edited by Bertrand Davezac, pp. 106–33. Houston, 1992.

Folda 1995
Jaroslav Folda. *The Art of the Crusaders in the Holy Lands, 1098–1187*. Cambridge, 1995.

Folda 2003
Jaroslav Folda. "The Freiburg Leaf: Crusader Art and Loca Sancta around the Year 1200." In *The Experience of Crusading*, edited by Peter Edbury and Jonathan Phillips, vol. 2, *Defining the Crusader Kingdom*, pp. 113–34. Cambridge, 2003.

Folda 2005
Jaroslav Folda. *Crusader Art in the Holy Land: From the Third Crusade to the Fall of Acre, 1187–1291*. Cambridge and New York, 2005.

Follieri 1980
Enrica Follieri. *I calendari in metro innografico di Cristoforo Mitileneo*. 2 vols. Brussels, 1980.

Forsyth 1968
George H. Forsyth. "The Monastery of St. Catherine at Mount Sinai: The Church and Fortress of Justinian." *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, no. 22 (1968), pp. 1–19.

Forsyth and Weitzmann 1965
George H. Forsyth and Kurt Weitzmann. *The Monastery of Saint Catherine at Mount Sinai: The Church and Fortress of Justinian*. Ann Arbor, [1965].

Forsyth and Weitzmann 1973
George H. Forsyth and Kurt Weitzmann. *The Monastery of Saint Catherine at Mount Sinai: The Church and Fortress of Justinian*. Ann Arbor, [1973].

Fowden 1999
Elizabeth Key Fowden. *The Barbarian Plain: Saint Sergius between Rome and Iran*. Berkeley, 1999.

France 1989
Rodulfus Glaber. *Rodulfi Glabri Historiarum libri quinque*. Edited and translated by John France. Oxford, 1989.

Franceschini and Weber 1965
Ezio Franceschini and Robert Weber, eds. "Itinerarium Egeriae." In *Itineraria et alia geographica*, pp. 37–46. Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina 175. Turnhout, 1965.

Frankfurter 1998
David Frankfurter. *Religion in Roman Egypt: Assimilation and Resistance*. Princeton, N.J., 1998.

Franses 2003
Rico Franses. "When All That Is Gold Does Not Glitter: On the Strange History of Looking at Byzantine Art." In *Icon and Word: The Power of Images in Byzantium; Studies Presented to Robin Cormack*, edited by Antony Eastmond and Liz James, pp. 13–24. Aldershot, Hants, England, and Burlington, Vt., 2003.

Frantz 1934
M. Allison Frantz. "Byzantine Illuminated Ornament." *Art Bulletin* 16 (1934), pp. 43–76.

Friedman 1983
Yvonne Friedman. "Francescinus of Pontremoli: A Pilgrim's Path to Pardon." *Franciscan Studies* 43 (1983), pp. 279–320.

Frinta 1981
Mojmír S. Frinta. "Raised Gilded Adornment of the Cypriot Icons and the Occurrence of the Technique in the West." *Gesta* 20 (1981), pp. 333–47.

Frinta 1983
Mojmír S. Frinta. "Relief Imitation of Metallic Sheathing of Byzantine Icons as an Indicator of East-West Influences." In *The High Middle Ages*, pp. 147–67. Acta (Center for Medieval and Early Renaissance Studies, State University of New York at Binghamton), vol. 7. Binghamton, N.Y., 1983.

Gabelić 1990
Smiljka Gabelić. *Ciklus arhanđela u vizantijskoj umetnosti*. Belgrade, 1990.

Galavaris 1969
George Galavaris. *The Illustrations of the Liturgical Homilies of Gregory Nazianzenus*. Studies in Manuscript Illumination, no. 6. Princeton, N.J., 1969.

Galavaris 1978a
George Galavaris. "A Bread Stamp from Sinai and Its Relatives." *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik* 27 (1978), pp. 329–42.

Galavaris 1978b
George Galavaris. "Some Aspects of Symbolic Use of Lights in the Eastern Church: Candles, Lamps and Ostrich Eggs." *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 4 (1978), pp. 69–78.

Galavaris 1979
George Galavaris. *The Illustrations of the Prefaces in Byzantine Gospels*. Byzantina Vindobonensia, vol. 11. Vienna, 1979.

Galavaris 1990
George Galavaris. "Early Icons (from the Sixth to the Eleventh Century)." In Manafis 1990, pp. 91–101, 384.

Galavaris 1993–94
George Galavaris. "Two Icons of St. Theodosia at Sinai." *Deltion tēs Christianikēs Archaiologikēs Hetaireias*, 4th ser., 17 (1993–94), pp. 313–16.

Galavaris 1995
George Galavaris. *Zōgraphikē Vyzantinōn cheirographōn*. Athens, 1995.

Galey 2003
John Galey. *Das Katharinenkloster auf dem Sinai*. Stuttgart, 2003.

Galland 2004
Bruno Galland. *Les authentiques de reliques du Sancta Sanctorum*. Studi e testi (Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana) 421. Vatican City, 2004.

Gardner 1994
Julian Gardner. "Altars, Altarpieces, and Art History: Legislation and Usage." In *Italian Altarpieces, 1250–1550: Function and Design*, edited by Eve Borsook and Fiorella Superbi Gioffredi, pp. 5–39. Oxford, 1994.

Gargiolli 1862
Carlo Gargiolli, ed. *Viaggi in Terra Santa di Lionardo Frescobaldi et d'altri del secolo XIV*. Florence, 1862.

Garidis 1993–94
M. Garidis. "Hoi melchitikes araboorthodoxes eikones: Prodromikes emphaniseis tou phainomenou." *Deltion tēs Christianikēs Archaiologikēs Hetaireias*, 4th ser., 17 (1993–94), pp. 363–74.

Garitte 1972
Gérard Garitte. "Les rubriques liturgiques de quelques anciens tètraevangiles arabes du Sinaï." In *Mélanges liturgiques offerts au R. P. dom Bernard Botte à l'occasion du cinquantième anniversaire de son ordination sacerdotale (4 juin 1972)*, pp. 151–66. Louvain, 1972. Reprinted in Gérard Garitte, *Scripta Disiecta, 1941–1977*, vol. 2, pp. 722–37. Louvain, 1980.

Gautier 1974
Paul Gautier. "Le typikon du Christ Saveur Pantocrator." *Revue des études byzantines* 32 (1974), pp. 1–145.

Gautier 1985
Paul Gautier. "Le typikon de la Théotokos Kécharitômènè." *Revue des études byzantines* 43 (1985), pp. 5–165.

Gedeon 1996
Manouel Io. Gedeon. *Patriarhikoi pinakes*. 2nd ed. Athens, 1996

Genoa 2004
Mandylion: Intorno al "Sacro Volto," da Bisanzio a Genova. Exh. cat. edited by Gerhard Wolf, Collette Dufour Bozzo, and Anna Rosa Calderoni Masetti, Genoa, Museo Diocesano, 2004.

Gerstel 1999
Sharon E. J. Gerstel. *Beholding the Sacred Mysteries: Programs of the Byzantine Sanctuary*. Seattle, 1999.

Gerstel 2001
Sharon E. J. Gerstel. "Art and Identity in the Medieval Morea." In *The Crusades from the Perspective of Byzantium and the Muslim World*, edited by Angeliki E. Laiou and Roy Parviz Mottahedeh, pp. 263–85. Washington, D.C., 2001.

Giersch and Schmid 2004
Paula Giersch and Wolfgang Schmid. *Rheinland–Heiliges Land: Pilgerreisen und Kulturkontakte im Mittelalter*. Trier, 2004.

Gingras 1970
Egeria: Diary of a Pilgrimage. Translated and edited by George E. Gingras. Ancient Christian Writers, The Works of the Fathers in Translation, no. 38. New York, 1970.

Goldschmidt and Weitzmann 1979
Adolph Goldschmidt and Kurt Weitzmann. *Die byzantinischen Elfenbeinskulpturen des X.–XIII. Jahrhunderts*. 2 vols. 2nd ed. Berlin, 1979.

Gonosová and Kondoleon 1994
Anna Gonosová and Christine Kondoleon. *Art of Late Rome and Byzantium in the Virginia Museum of Fine Arts*. Richmond, 1994.

Gouma-Peterson 1985
Thalia Gouma-Peterson. "Narrative Cycles of Saints' Lives in Byzantine Churches from the Tenth to the Mid-Fourteenth Century." *Greek Orthodox Theological Review* 30 (1985), pp. 31–44.

A. Grabar 1958
André Grabar. *Ampoules de Terre Sainte (Monza, Bobbio)*. Paris, 1958.

A. Grabar 1968
André Grabar. *Christian Iconography: A Study of Its Origins*. Princeton, N.J., 1968.

A. Grabar 1969
André Grabar. "La précieuse croix de la Lavra Saint-Athanase au Mont Athos." *Cahiers archéologiques* 19 (1969), pp. 99–125.

O. Grabar 1984
Oleg Grabar. *The Illustrations of the Maqamat*. Chicago and New York, 1984. Microfiche.

***Great Horologion* 1997**
The Great Horologion; or, Book of Hours. Translated from the Greek by the Holy Transfiguration Monastery. Boston, 1997.

***Great Monastery of Vatopaidi* 1998**
The Holy and Great Monastery of Vatopaidi: Tradition, History, Art. 2 vols. Mount Athos, 1998.

***The Greek Anthology* 1960**
The Greek Anthology. Edited and translated by W. R. Paton. 5 vols. Loeb Classical Library. London, 1960.

Griffith 1985a
Sidney Harrison Griffith. "The Gospel in Arabic: An Inquiry into Its Appearance in the First Abbasid Century." *Orients Christianus* 69 (1985), pp. 126–67. Reprinted, with additions, in Griffith 1992, no. II.

Griffith 1985b
Sidney Harrison Griffith. "Stephen of Ramlah and the Christian Kerygma in Arabic in Ninth-Century Palestine." *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 36 (1985), pp. 23–45. Reprinted in Griffith 1992, no. VII.

Griffith 1988
Sidney Harrison Griffith. "The Monks of Palestine and the Growth of Christian Literature in Arabic." *Muslim World* 78 (1988), pp. 1–28. Reprinted in Griffith 1992, no. III.

Griffith 1989
Sidney Harrison Griffith. "Anthony David of Baghdad, Scribe and Monk of Mar Sabas: Arabic in the Monasteries of Palestine." *Church History* 58 (1989), pp. 7–19. Reprinted in Griffith 1992, no. XI.

Griffith 1992
Sidney Harrison Griffith. *Arabic Christianity in the Monasteries of Ninth-Century Palestine*. Aldershot, Hants, England, and Burlington, Vt., 1992.

Grigoriadis 1875
Perikles Grigoriadis. *He Hiera Monē tou Sina kata tēn geographikēn, historikēn kai diokētikēn autēs epopsin*. Jerusalem, 1875.

J. Grossmann 2004
Johannes Grossmann. "Der Bau des Sinaiklosters nach Prokopios und Eutychios." In *Wiener Byzantinistik und Neogräzistik*, edited by Wolfram Hörandner, Johannes Koder, and Maria A. Stassinopoulou, pp. 165–76. Byzantina et Neograeca Vindobonensia 24. Vienna, 2004.

P. Grossmann 1988
Peter Grossmann. "Neue baugeschichtliche Untersuchungen im Katharinenkloster im Sinai." *Archäologischer Anzeiger* (Deutsches Archäologisches Institut), 1988, pp. 544–58.

Grube 1965
Ernst J. Grube. "A Bronze Bowl from Egypt." *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 4 (1965), pp. 141–43.

Grumel 1962
V. Grumel. "La chronologie des patriarches grecs de Jérusalem au XIIIe siècle." *Revue des études byzantines* 20 (1962), pp. 197–201.

Guyon 2002
Catherine Guyon. "Sainte Catherine en images: Contribution à l'étude de l'iconographie de Sainte Catherine d'Alexandrie au Moyen Âge." *Annales de l'Est*, 2002, no. 2, pp. 33–76.

Haase 1999
Claus-Peter Haase. "Some Aspects of Fatimid Calligraphy on Textiles." In *L'Égypte fatimide, son art et son histoire: Actes du colloque organisé à Paris les 28, 29 et 30 mai 1998*, edited by Marianne Barrucand, pp. 339–47. Paris, 1999.

Halkin 1957
François Halkin. *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Graeca*. 3 vols. Brussels, 1957.

Harrison 1986
R. M. Harrison. *Excavations at Sarıçhane in Istanbul*. Vol. 1, *The Excavations, Structures, Architectural Decoration, Small Finds, Coins, Bones, and Molluscs*. Princeton, N.J., 1986.

Hassler 1843–49
Felix Fabri. *Fratris Felicis Fabri Evagatorium in Terrae Sanctae, Arabiae et Egypti Peregrinationem*. 3 vols. Edited by Conrad Dietrich Hassler. Stuttgart, 1843–49.

Heers and Groër 1978
Jacques Heers and Georgette de Groër, eds. *Itinéraire d'Anselme Adorno en Terre Sainte (1470–1471)*. Paris, 1978.

Helou 2003
Nada Helou. "L'icône bilatérale de la Vierge de Kaftoun au Liban: Une oeuvre d'art syro-byzantin à l'époque des Croisés." *Chronos*, no. 7 (2003), pp. 101–31.

Hennecke and Schneemelcher 1963–66
Edgar Hennecke and Wilhelm Schneemelcher, eds. *New Testament Apocrypha*. Translated by A. J. B. Higgins. 2 vols. Philadelphia, 1963–66.

***Hiera Monē Sina* 2001**
Hiera Monē Sina, 2001. Calendar published by Saint Catherine's Monastery at Sinai. Athens, 2001.

Hiestand 1993
Rudolf Hiestand. "Der Sinai—Tor zu anderen Welten." In *Reisen in reale und mythische Ferne: Reiseliteratur in Mittelalter und Renaissance*, edited by Peter Wunderli, pp. 76–103. Düsseldorf, 1993.

Hill 1962
Rosalind Hill, ed. *The Deeds of the Franks and the Other Pilgrims to Jerusalem*. Oxford, 1962.

Hofmann 1927
Georg Hofmann. "Sinai und Rom." *Orientalia Christiana* 9 (1927), pp. 218–99.

Hulser 1980
Paul Hulser. *Heilige Berge—Sinai, Athos, Golgota Ikonen, Fresken, Miniaturen*. Zürich, 1980.

Hunt 1991
Lucy-Anne Hunt. "A Woman's Prayer to St Sergios in Latin Syria: Interpreting a Thirteenth-Century Icon at Sinai." *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 15 (1991), pp. 96–145.

Hunt 1995
Lucy-Anne Hunt. "The Fine Incense of Virginity: A Late Twelfth Century Wallpainting of the Annunciation at the Monastery of the Syrians, Egypt." *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 19 (1995), pp. 182–232.

Hunt 1998
Lucy-Anne Hunt. "Cultural Transmission: Illustrated Biblical Manuscripts from the Medieval Eastern Christian and Arab Worlds." In *The Bible as Book: The Manuscript Tradition*, edited by John Lawrence Sharpe III and Kimberly van Kampen, pp. 123–36. London and New Castle, 1998.

Hutter forthcoming
Irmgard Hutter. "Das Oxforder 'Bildmenologion.'" *Rivista di studi bizantini e neoellenici*. Forthcoming.

Huygens 1994
Robert B. C. Huygens, ed. *Peregrinationes tres: Saewulf, John of Würzburg, Theoderius*. Corpus Christianorum, Continuatio Mediaevalis 139. Turnhout, 1994.

Iacobini 2000
Antonio Iacobini. *Visioni dipinte: Immagini della contemplazione negli affreschi di Bawit*. Studi di arte medievale 6. Rome, 2000.

Ikonomaki-Papadopoulos 1990
Y. Ikonomaki-Papadopoulos. "Church Metalwork." In Manafis 1990, pp. 263–78.

Immerzeel 2003
Mat Immerzeel. "Divine Cavalry: Mounted Saints in Middle Eastern Christian Art." In *East and West in the Crusader States: Context, Contacts, Confrontations, III; Acta of the Congress Held at Hernen Castle in September 2000*, edited by Krijnie Ciggaar and Herman Teule, pp. 265–86. Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 125. Louvain and Dudley, Mass., 2003.

Immerzeel 2004
Mat Immerzeel. "Holy Horsemen and Crusader Banners. Equestrian Saints in Wall Paintings in Lebanon and Syria." *Eastern Christian Art in Its Late Antique and Islamic Contexts* 1 (2004), pp. 29–60.

Iraklion 1990
Domenikos Theotokopoulos Kres: Ekthese tou 1 El Greco of Crete: Exhibition on the Occasion of the 450th Anniversary of His Birth. Exh. cat. edited by Nicos Hadjinicolaou. Iraklion, Basilica of St. Mark, 1990.

Isar 2004
Nicoletta Isar. "'Χυσός of Light': Vision of the Sacred in Paulus the Silentiary's Poem *Descriptio S. Sophiae*." *Byzantinische Forschungen* 28 (2004), pp. 215–42.

Jacoby 1986
David Jacoby. "Pèlerinage médiéval et sanctuaires de Terre Sainte: La perspective vénitienne." *Ateneo Veneto* 123 (1986), pp. 27–58. Reprinted in David Jacoby, *Studies on the Crusader States and on Venetian Expansion* (Northampton, 1989), no. IV.

Jacoby 2002
David Jacoby. "Il ruolo di Acri nel pellegrinaggio a Gerusalemme." In *Il cammino di Gerusalemme: Atti del II Convegno Internazionale di Studio; Bari, Brindisi, Trani, 18–22 maggio 1999*, edited by Maria Stella Calò Mariani, pp. 31–50. Bari, 2002.

Jacoby 2004
David Jacoby. "Society, Culture and the Arts in Crusader Acre." In *France and the Holy Land: Frankish Culture at the End of the Crusades*, edited by Daniel H. Weiss and Lisa Mahoney, pp. 97–137. Baltimore, 2004.

Jacoby 2005
David Jacoby. "Bishop Gunther of Bamberg, Byzantium and Christian Pilgrimage to the Holy Land in the Eleventh Century." In *Zwischen Polis, Provinz und Peripherie: Beiträge zur byzantinischen Geschichte und Kultur*, edited by Lars Hoffmann with Anuscha Monchizadeh, pp. 267–85. Wiesbaden, 2005.

Janin 1953–81
Raymond Janin. *La géographie ecclésiastique de l'Empire Byzantin*. 3 vols. Paris, 1953–81.

Jay 1993
Martin Jay. *Downcast Eyes: The Denigration of Vision in Twentieth-Century French Thought*. Berkeley, 1993.

Jenkins and Lewis 2003
Jacqueline Jenkins and Katherine J. Lewis, eds. *St. Katherine of Alexandria: Texts and Contexts in Western Medieval Europe*. Turnhout, 2003.

Jimenez de La Espada 1874
Marcos Jimenez de La Espada, ed. *Andanças é viages de Pero Tafur por diversas partes del mundo avidos (1435–1439)*. Madrid, 1874.

Jones 1976
Charles W. Jones. "The Norman Cults of Sts. Catherine and Nicholas, Sacc. XI." In *Hommages à André Boutemy*, edited by Guy Cambier, pp. 216–30. Brussels, 1976.

Kamil 1991
Jill Kamil. *The Monastery of Saint Catherine in Sinai: History and Guide*. Cairo, 1991.

Kartsonis 1986
Anna D. Kartsonis. *Anastasis: The Making of an Image*. Princeton, N.J., 1986.

Kartsonis 1994
Anna D. Kartsonis. "The Emancipation of the Crucifixion." In *Byzance et les images*, edited by André Guillou and Jannic Durand, pp. 151–87. Paris, 1994.

Kessler and Wolf 1998
Herb Kessler and Gerhard Wolf, eds. *The Holy Face and the Paradox of Representation: Papers from a Colloquium Held at the Bibliotheca Hertziana, Rome, and the Villa Spelman, Florence, 1996*. Bologna, 1998.

Khitrowo 1889
B. de Khitrowo, trans. *Les itinéraires russes en Orient*. Geneva, 1889.

Kidson 1958
Peter Kidson. *Sculpture at Chartres*. London, 1958.

Kirchhainer 2001
Karin Kirchhainer. *Die Bildausstattung der Nikolauskirche in Thessaloniki: Untersuchungen zu Struktur und Programm der Malereien*. Weimar, 2001.

Kitzinger 1977
Ernst Kitzinger. *Byzantine Art in the Making: Main Lines of Stylistic Development in Mediterranean Art, Third–Seventh Century*. Cambridge, Mass., 1977.

Kitzinger 1988
Ernst Kitzinger. "Reflections on the Feast Cycle in Byzantine Art." *Cahiers archéologiques* 36 (1988), pp. 51–73.

Klein 2004
Holger A. Klein. *Byzanz, der Westen und das 'wahre' Kreuz: Die Geschichte einer Reliquie und ihrer künstlerischen Fassung in Byzanz und im Abendland*. Spätantike, Frühes Christentum, Byzanz, Series B, Studien und Perspektiven 17. Wiesbaden, 2004.

Kotter 1975
John of Damascus. *Die Schriften des Johannes von Damaskos*. Vol. 3, *Contra imaginum calumniatores orationes tres*, edited by P. Bonifatius Kotter. Patristische Texte und Studien, vol. 17. Berlin, 1975.

Kotter 1988
John of Damascus. *Die Schriften des Johannes von Damaskos*. Vol. 5, *Opera homiletica et hagiographica*, edited by P. Bonifatius Kotter. Patristische Texte und Studien, vol. 29. Berlin, 1988.

Kreidl-Papadopoulos 1970
Karoline Kreidl-Papadopoulos. "Die Ikonen im Kunsthistorischen Museum in Wien." *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien* 66 (1970), pp. 49–134.

Krüger 1992
Klaus Krüger. *Der frühe Bildkult des Franziskus in Italien: Gestalt- und Funktionswandel des Tafelbildes im 13. und 14. Jahrhundert*. Berlin, 1992.

Kühnel 1981
Gustav Kühnel. "Die 'Ikone des Sinai-Klosters' und verwandte Pilgerillustrationen." *Oriens Christianus* 65 (1981), pp. 163–218.

Kühnel 2001
Gustav Kühnel. "Palestinian Monasticism and Political Iconography." In *The Sabaite Heritage in the Orthodox Church from the Fifth Century to the Present*, edited by Joseph Patrich, pp. 353–62. Louvain, 2001.

Külzer 1994
Andreas Külzer. *Peregrinatio Graeca in Terram Sanctam: Studien zu Pilgerführern und Reisebeschreibungen über Syrien, Palästina und den Sinai aus byzantinischer und metabyzantinischer Zeit*. Studien und Texte zur Byzantinistik, edited by Peter Schreiner, vol. 2. Frankfurt am Main, 1994.

Lalleman 1998
Pieter J. Lalleman. *The Acts of John: A Two-Stage Initiation into Johannine Gnosticism*. Studies on the Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles 4. Louvain, 1998.

Langen 1990
Linda Langen. "La peinture d'icônes en Egypte." *Le monde copte* 18 (1990), pp. 7–18.

Laurent 1857
Johann Christian Moritz Laurent, ed. *Magister Thietmari Peregrinatio*. Hamburg, 1857.

Lauxtermann 2003
Marc D. Lauxtermann. *Byzantine Poetry from Pisides to Geometres: Texts and Contexts*. Vol. 1. Wiener byzantinische Studien 24/1. Vienna, 2003.

Lazarev 1964–65
Viktor Nikitich Lazarev. "Trois fragments d'épistyles peintes et le templon byzantin." *Deltion tēs Christianikēs Archaiologikēs Hetaireias*, 4th ser., no. 4 (1964–65), pp. 117–43. Repr. London, 1995.

Lazarev 1967
Viktor Nikitich Lazarev. *Storia della pittura bizantina*. Translated by Gildo Fossati. Milan, 1967.

Lazarev 1977
Viktor Nikitich Lazarev. *Pages from the History of Novgorodian Painting: The Double-Faced Tablets from the St. Sophia Cathedral in Novgorod*. Moscow, 1977.

Lazović and Rossier 1968
Miroslav Lazović and Emmanuel Rossier. *Les icones dans les collections suisses*. Geneva, 1968.

Le Grand 1895
Léon Le Grand. "Relation du pèlerinage à Jérusalem de Nicolas de Martoni." *Revue de l'Orient Latin* 3 (1895), pp. 566–669.

Leroy 1974
Jules Leroy. *Les manuscrits coptes et coptes-arabes illustrés*. Paris, 1974.

Lewis 1999
Katherine J. Lewis. "Pilgrimage and the Cult of St Catherine of Alexandria in Late Medieval England." In *Pilgrimage Explored*, edited by J. Stopford, pp. 145–60. Woodbridge, Suffolk, England, 1999.

Lidov 1999
Alekseĭ Lidov. *Vizantiĭskie ikony Sinaĭia*. Moscow, 1999.

Likhacheva 1965
V. D. Likhacheva. "Dva lista s siriiskimi miniaturami." *Byzantinoslavica* 26 (1965), pp. 365–74.

London 1987
East Christian Art: A Twelfth Anniversary Exhibition. Exh. cat. edited by Yanni Petsopoulos. London, Bernheimer Fine Arts, 1987.

London 2000
Cyprus, the Holy Island / Kypros, hē hagia nēsos: Icons through the Centuries, Tenth to Twentieth Century. Exh. cat. edited by Sophocles Sophocleous. London, Hellenic Center; Nicosia, 2000.

Lossky 1983
Vladimir Lossky. *The Vision of God*. Translated by Asheleigh Moorhouse. Crestwood, N.Y., 1983.

Lossky 1998
Vladimir Lossky. *The Mystical Theology of the Eastern Church*. Crestwood, N.Y., 1998.

Lossky 2001
Vladimir Lossky. *Orthodox Theology: An Introduction*. Translated by Ian Kesarcodi-Watson and Ihita Kesarcodi-Watson. Crestwood, N.Y., 2001.

Louth 1981
Andrew Louth. *The Origins of the Christian Mystical Tradition from Plato to Denys*. Oxford, 1981.

Louth 1996
Andrew Louth. *Maximus the Confessor*. London, 1996.

Louth 2003
John of Damascus. *Three Treatises on the Divine Images*. Translated by Andrew Louth. Crestwood, N.Y., 2003.

Lowden 1997
John Lowden. *Early Christian and Byzantine Art*. London, 1997.

Luibheid and Russell 1982
John Climacus. *The Ladder of Divine Ascent*. Translated by Colm Luibheid and Norman Russell. New York, 1982.

Lydakis 1976
Stelios Lydakis. *Hoi Hellēnes zōgraphoi*. Vol. 3, *Hē historia tēs neoellēnikēs zōgraphikēs (16os–20os aionas)*. Athens, 1976.

Maguire 1981
Henry Maguire. *Art and Eloquence in Byzantium*. Princeton, N.J., 1981.

Maguire 1983
Henry Maguire. "The Self-Conscious Angel: Character Study in Byzantine Paintings of the Annunciation." *Harvard Ukranian Studies* 7 (1983), pp. 377–92. Issue entitled *Okeanos: Essays Presented to Ihor Ševčenko on His Sixtieth Birthday by His Colleagues and Students*.

Maguire 1996
Henry Maguire. *The Icons of Their Bodies: Saints and Their Images in Byzantium*. Princeton, N.J., 1996.

Majeska 1984
George P. Majeska. *Russian Travelers to Constantinople in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries*. Dumbarton Oaks Studies 19. Washington, D.C., 1984.

Malherbe and Ferguson 1978
Gregory of Nyssa. *Gregory of Nyssa: The Life of Moses*. Translated by Abraham J. Malherbe and Everett Ferguson. The Classics of Western Spirituality. New York, 1978.

Maloney 1992
Pseudo-Macarius. *Pseudo-Macarius: The Fifty Spiritual Homilies and the "Great Letter."* Edited and translated by George A. Maloney. New York, 1992.

Manafis 1990
Konstantinos A. Manafis, ed. *Sinai: Treasures of the Monastery of Saint Catherine*. Athens, 1990.

C. Mango 1958
Photius. *The Homilies of Photius: Patriarch of Constantinople*. Translated by Cyril Mango. Cambridge, Mass., 1958

C. Mango 1972
Cyril Mango. *The Art of the Byzantine Empire, 312–1453: Sources and Documents*. Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1972.

C. Mango 1984
Cyril Mango. "St. Michael and Attis." *Deltion tēs Christianikēs Archaiologikēs Hetaireias*, 4th ser., 12 (1984; pub. 1986), pp. 39–62.

C. Mango 1992
Cyril Mango. "Twelfth-Century Notices from Cod. Christ Church Gr. 53." *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik* 42 (1992), pp. 221–28.

C. Mango 2000
Cyril Mango. *Chora: The Scroll of Heaven*. Photographs and editorial coordination by Ahmet Ertuğ. Istanbul, 2000.

C. Mango and Hawkins 1966
Cyril Mango and Ernest J. W. Hawkins. "The Hermitage of St. Neophytos and Its Wall Paintings." *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, no. 20 (1966), pp. 119–206.

M. M. Mango 1986
Marlia Mundell Mango. *Silver from Early Byzantium: The Kaper Koraon and Related Treasures*. Baltimore, 1986.

M. M. Mango 1990
Marlia Mundell Mango. "The Uses of Liturgical Silver, Fourth–Seventh Centuries." In *Church and People in Byzantium: Society for the Promotion of Byzantine Studies, Twentieth Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, Manchester 1986*, edited by Rosemary Morris, pp. 245–61. Birmingham, England, 1990.

M. M. Mango 2003
Marlia Mundell Mango. "Three Illuminating Objects in the Lampsacus Treasure." In *Through a Glass Brightly: Studies in Byzantine and Medieval Art and Archaeology Presented to David Buckton*, edited by Chris Entwistle, pp. 64–75. Oakville, Conn., 2003.

Marava-Chatzinikolaou and Toufexi-Paschou 1978–97
Anna Marava-Chatzinikolaou and Christina Toufexi-Paschou. *Catalogue of the Illuminated Byzantine Manuscripts of the National Library of Greece*. 3 vols. Athens, 1978–97.

Maraval 1982
Egeria. *Journal de voyage: Itinéraire*. Edited by Pierre Maraval. Sources chrétiennes 296. Paris, 1982.

Maraval 2002
Pierre Maraval. "The Earliest Phase of Christian Pilgrimage in the Near East (before the Seventh Century)." *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, no. 56 (2002), pp. 63–74.

Markopoulos 2000
Athanasios Markopoulos, ed. *Anonymi Professoris Epistulae*. Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae, vol. 37. Berlin, 2000.

Mark-Weiner 1977
Temily Mark-Weiner. "Narrative Cycles of the Life of St. George in Byzantine Art." Ph.D. diss., New York University, 1977.

Martin 1954
John Rupert Martin. *The Illustration of the Heavenly Ladder of John Climacus*. Studies in Manuscript Illumination 5. Princeton, N.J., 1954.

Martindale 1980
J. R. Martindale. *The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire*. Vol. 2, *AD 395–527*. Cambridge, 1980.

Mas Latrie 1852–61
Louis de Mas Latrie. *Histoire de l'île de Chypre sous le règne des princes de la maison de Lusignan*. 3 vols. Paris, 1852–61.

Mateos 1962
Juan Mateos. *Le Typicon de la Grande Église: Ms. Sainte-Croix no. 40, Xe siècle*. 2 vols. Rome, 1962.

Mathews 2001
Thomas F. Mathews. "The Emperor and the Icon." *Acta ad Archaeologiam et Artium Historiam Pertinentia* 15 (2001), pp. 163–77.

Mathews 2005
Thomas F. Mathews. "The Palace Church of Sts. Sergius and Bacchus in Constantinople." In *Archaeology in Architecture: Studies in Honor of Cecil L. Striker*, edited by Judson J. Emerick and Deborah M. Deliyannis, pp. 137–41. Mainz, 2005.

Mathews and Muller 2005
Thomas F. Mathews and Norman Muller. "Isis and Mary in Early Icons." In *Images of the Mother of God: Perceptions of the Theotokos in Byzantium*, edited by Maria Vassilaki, pp. 3–11. Aldershot, Hants, England, and Burlington, Vt., 2005.

Matthews 1978
Jane Timken Matthews. "The Byzantine Use of the Title Pantocrator." *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 44 (1978), pp. 442–62.

Mayer 1990
Hans E. Mayer. *Die Kreuzfahrerherrschaft Montréal (Shobak): Jordanien im 12. Jahrhundert*. Abhandlungen des Deutschen Palästinavereins, 14. Wiesbaden, 1990.

McCormick 2001
Michael McCormick. *Origins of the European Economy: Communications and Commerce, A.D. 300–900*. Cambridge, 2001.

McGuckin 2001
John McGuckin. "The Paradox of the Virgin-Theotokos: Evangelism and Imperial Politics in the Fifth Century Byzantine World." *Maria: A Journal of Marian Theology* 3 (Autumn 2001), pp. 5–23.

Meehan 1983
Denis Meehan, ed. *Adamnan's De Locis Sanctis*. Reprint. Dublin, 1983. 1st ed., 1958.

Meïmaris 1985
Ioannes Emmanouel Meïmaris. *Katalogos tōn ieōn aravikōn cheirographōn tēs Hieras Monēs Hagias Aikaterinēs tou Orous Sina*. Athens, 1985.

Melikian-Chirvani 1982
Assadullah Souren Melikian-Chirvani. *Islamic Metalwork from the Iranian World, Eighth–Eighteenth Centuries*. London, 1982

Mellinkoff 1970
Ruth Mellinkoff. *The Horned Moses in Medieval Art and Thought*. Berkeley, 1970.

Miesel 1953
V. H. Miesel Jr. "La tabla central del tripico del Modena, del Greco." *Archivo español de arte* 26 (1953), pp. 205–14.

Miklosich and Müller 1860–90
Franz, Ritter von Miklosich, and Joseph Müller. *Acta et diplomata Graeca Medii Aevi sacra et profana*. 6 vols. Vienna, 1860–90.

Miller 1967
Manuel Philes. *Carmina: Ex codicibus Escurialensibus, Florentinis, Parisinis et Vaticanis*. Edited by E. Miller. 2 vols. Amsterdam, 1967.

Millet 1916
Gabriel Millet. *Recherches sur l'iconographie de l'évangile aux XIVe, XVe et XVIe siècles, d'après les monuments de Mistra, de la Macédoine et du Mont-Athos*. Paris, 1916.

Millet 1939–47
Gabriel Millet. *Broderies religieuses de style byzantin*. Paris, 1939–47.

Milstein 1990
Rachel Milstein. *Miniature Painting in Ottoman Baghdad*. Costa Mesa, Calif., 1990.

Moranvillé 1905
Henri Moranvillé, ed. "Un pèlerinage en Terre Sainte et au Sinaï au XVe siècle." *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes* 66 (1905), pp. 70–106.

Morey 1914
Charles Rufus Morey. *East Christian Paintings in the Freer Collection*. New York, 1914.

Morey 1942
Charles Rufus Morey. *Early Christian Art: An Outline of the Evolution of Style and Iconography in Sculpture and Painting from Antiquity to the Eighth Century*. Princeton, N.J., 1942.

Morton 1938
H. V. Morton. *Through Lands of the Bible*. London, 1938

Moscow and Saint Petersburg 1977
Iskusstvo Vizantii v sobraniiakh SSSR. 3 vols. Exh. cat. edited by Olga Sigismundovna Popova and Alisa Vladimirovna Bank. Moscow, Pushkin Museum, and Saint Petersburg, State Hermitage Museum; Moscow, 1977.

Mouriki 1968
Doula Mouriki. "A Deēsis Icon in the Art Museum." *Record of the Art Museum, Princeton University* 28 (1968), pp. 13–28.

Mouriki 1985–86
Doula Mouriki. "Thirteenth-Century Icon Painting in Cyprus." *Griffon*, n.s., 1–2 (1985–86), pp. 9–112. Repr. London, 1995.

Mouriki 1988
Doula Mouriki. "Four Thirteenth-Century Sinai Icons by the Painter Peter." In *Studenica i vizantijska umetnost oko 1200. godine: Međunarodni naučni skup povodom 800 godina manastira Studenice i stogodišnjice SANU, septembar 1986*, edited by Vojislav Korać, pp. 329–47. Belgrade, 1988.

Mouriki 1990
Doula Mouriki. "Icons from the Twelfth to the Fifteenth Century." In Manafis 1990, pp. 102–24, 384–86.

Mouriki 1991–92
Doula Mouriki. "A Pair of Early Thirteenth-Century Moses Icons at Sinai with Scenes of the Burning Bush and the Receiving of the Law." *Deltion tēs Christianikēs Archaiologikēs Hetaireias*, 4th ser., 16 (1991–92), pp. 171–84.

Mouriki 1994
Doula Mouriki. "Portraits of St. Theodosia in Five Sinai Icons." In *Thymiama stē mnēmē tēs Laskarinas Boura*, vol. 1, pp. 213–19. Athens, 1994.

Mouriki 1995
Doula Mouriki. "Portraits de donateurs et invocations sur les icônes du XIIIe siècle au Sinaï." In *Modes de vie et modes de pensée à Byzance: Actes de la table ronde no. 9, XVIIIe Congrès International d'Études Byzantines, Moscou, août 1991*, edited by André Guillou, pp. 103–35. Études balkaniques, Cahiers Pierre Belon 2. Paris, 1995.

Nasir-i Khusraw 1976
Nasir-i Khusraw. *Safarnāma*. Edited by Muhammad Dabir-Siyaqi. Tehran, 1976.

Nelson 1981
Robert S. Nelson. "A Thirteenth-Century Byzantine Miniature in the Vatican Library." *Gesta* 19 (1981), pp. 213–22.

Nelson 1987
Robert S. Nelson. "Theoktistos and Associates in Twelfth-Century Constantinople: An Illustrated New Testament of A.D. 1133." *J. Paul Getty Museum Journal* 15 (1987), pp. 53–78.

Nelson 1989
Robert S. Nelson. "The Discourse of Icons, Then and Now." *Art History* 12 (June 1989), pp. 144–57.

Neumann 1884
Guillelmus Antonius Neumann, ed. "Ludolphus de Sudheim: De itinere Terrae Sanctae." *Archives de l'Orient Latin* 2 (1884), pt. 2, pp. 305–77.

New York 1979
Age of Spirituality: Late Antique and Early Christian Art, Third to Seventh Century. Exh. cat. edited by Kurt Weitzmann. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1977–78; New York, 1979.

New York 1984
The Treasury of San Marco. Exh. cat. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1985; Milan, 1984.

New York 1997a
The Glory of Byzantium: Art and Culture of the Middle Byzantine Era, A.D. 843–1261. Exh. cat. edited by Helen C. Evans and William D. Wixom. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1997.

New York 1997b
When Silk Was Gold: Central Asian and Chinese Textiles. Exh. cat. by James C. Y. Watt and Anne E. Wardwell. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1997.

New York 2000
Ancient Faces: Mummy Portraits from Roman Egypt. Exh. cat. edited by Susan Walker. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2000.

New York 2004
Byzantium: Faith and Power, 1261–1557. Exh. cat. edited by Helen C. Evans. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2004.

Nicolaïdès 1996
Andréas Nicolaïdès. "L'église de la Panagia Arakiotissa à Lagoudéra, Chypre: Étude iconographique des fresques de 1192." *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, no. 50 (1996), pp. 1–138.

Obolensky 1988
Dimitri Obolensky. *Six Byzantine Portraits.* Oxford, 1988.

ODB
The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium. Edited by Alexander P. Kazhdan et al. 3 vols. Oxford, 1991. Online ed.: http://www.oxford-byzantium.com

Offner 1986
Richard Offner, with Klara Steinweg. *A Critical and Historical Corpus of Florentine Painting.* Sect. 3, vol. 1, *The Fourteenth Century.* New ed., with additional notes and bibliography by Miklós Boskovits. Florence, 1986.

Omont 1927
Henri Auguste Omont. *Miniatures des homélies sur la Vierge du Moine Jacques (Ms. grec 1208 de Paris). Bulletin* (Société Française de Reproductions de Manuscrits à Peintures) 11 (1927), pp. 5–24.

Van Os 1984
Henk van Os. *Sienese Altarpieces, 1215–1460: Form, Content, Function.* Vol. 1, 1215–1344. Groningen, 1984.

Pahlitzsch 2001
Johannes Pahlitzsch. *Graeci und Suriani im Palästina der Kreuzfahrerzeit: Beiträge und Quellen zur Geschichte des griechisch-orthodoxen Patriarchats von Jerusalem.* Berliner historische Studien 33. Berlin, 2001.

Paliouras 1990
A. Paliouras. "Wall Paintings." In Manafis 1990, pp. 68–72, 383–84.

Palmer, Sherrard, and Ware 1981
The Philokalia: The Complete Text. Translated by G. E. H. Palmer, Philip Sherrard, and Kallistos Ware. Vol. 2. London, 1981.

Papadopoulos-Kerameus 1891
Athanasios Papadopoulos-Kerameus, ed. *Paision Hagiapostolitou Mētropolitou Rhodou, Historia tou Hagiou Orous Sina kai tōn perichorōn autou. Pravoslavnyĭ palestinskiĭ sbornik* 35 (12, no. 2) (1891). German translation in Külzer 1994, pp. 329–70.

Papadopoulos-Kerameus 1895
Athanasios Papadopoulos-Kerameus, ed. *Merikē diēgēsis ek tōn hagiōn topōn tēs Ierousalēm dia ta pathē tou kuriou hēmōn Iēsou Christou kai allōn tinōn. Pravoslavnyĭ palestinskiĭ sbornik* 40 (14, no. 2) (1895).

Papadopoulos-Kerameus 1903
Athanasios Papadopoulos-Kerameus, ed. *Oktō Hellēnikai perigraphai tōn hagiōn topōn ek tou id', ie' kai is' aiōnos. Pravoslavnyĭ palestinskiĭ sbornik* 56 (1903).

Papageorgiou 1970
Athanasios Papageorgiou. *Icons of Cyprus.* Translated by James Hogarth. New York, 1970.

Papalexandrou 2001
A. Papalexandrou. "Text in Context: Eloquent Monuments and the Byzantine Beholder." *Word & Image* 17 (2001), pp. 259–83.

Papamastorakis 1996
T. Papamastorakis. "Epitymvies parastaseis kata tē mesē kai hysterē vyzantinē periodo." *Deltion tēs Christianikēs Archaiologikēs Hetaireias*, 4th ser., 19 (1996), pp. 285–304.

Papastratos 1990
Dore Papastratos. *Paper Icons: Greek Orthodox Religious Engravings, 1665–1899.* Translated by John Leatham. 2 vols. Athens, 1990.

Parani, Pitarakis, and Spieser 2003
Maria Parani, Brigitte Pitarakis, and Jean-Michael Spieser. "Un exemple d'inventaire d'objets liturgiques: Le testament d'Eustathios Boïlas (avril 1059)." *Revue des études byzantines* 61 (2003), pp. 143–65.

Paris 1931
Exposition internationale d'art byzantin. Exh. cat. Paris, Musée des Arts Décoratifs; Musée du Louvre; and Pavillon de Marsan, 1931.

Paris 1992
Byzance: L'art byzantin dans les collections publiques françaises. Exh. cat. Paris, Musée du Louvre, 1992.

Peers 2001
Glenn Peers. *Subtle Bodies: Representing Angels in Byzantium.* Berkeley, 2001.

Peers 2004
Glenn Peers. *Sacred Shock: Framing Visual Experience in Byzantium.* University Park, Pa., 2004.

Peeters 1917–18
Paulus Peeters, ed. "Histoires monastiques géorgiennes, I. Vita beati patris nostri Iohannis atque Euthymii, et oratio de probatis eorum moribus, conscripta a pauperculo Georgio presbytero et monacho." *Analecta Bollandiana* 36–37 (1917–18; pub. 1922), pp. 13–68.

Peirce and Tyler 1934
Hayford Peirce and Royall Tyler. *L'art byzantin.* Vol. 2. Paris, 1934.

Pelikan 1971
Jaroslav Pelikan. *The Christian Tradition: A History of the Development of Doctrine.* Vol. 1, *The Emergence of the Catholic Tradition (100–600).* Chicago, 1971.

Pentcheva 2000a
Bissera V. Pentcheva. "Imagined Images: Visions of Salvation and Intercession in a Fourteenth-Century Double-Sided Icon from Poganovo." *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, no. 54 (2000), pp. 139–53.

Pentcheva 2000b
Bissera V. Pentcheva. "Rhetorical Images of the Virgin: The Icon of the 'Usual Miracle' at the Blachernai." *RES: Anthropology and Aesthetics*, no. 38 (Autumn 2000), pp. 34–55.

Pentcheva 2004
Bissera V. Pentcheva. "Visual Textuality: The *Logos* as Pregnant Body and Building." *RES: Anthropology and Aesthetics*, no. 45 (Spring 2004), pp. 225–38.

Pentcheva 2006a
Bissera V. Pentcheva. *Icons and Power: The Mother of God in Byzantium.* University Park, Pa., 2006.

Pentcheva 2006b
Bissera V. Pentcheva. "The Performative Icon." *Art Bulletin* 88 (December 2006).

Pentcheva forthcoming
Bissera V. Pentcheva. "Epigrams on Icons." In *Art and Text in Byzantine Culture*, edited by L. James. Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press. Forthcoming.

Pfuhl 1923
Ernst Pfuhl. *Malerei und Zeichnung der Griechen.* 3 vols. Munich, 1923.

PG
Patrologiae cursus completus . . . series graeca. Edited by J.-P. Migne. 161 vols. Paris, 1857–66.

Piatnitsky 2004
Y. A. Piatnitsky, "Dve sinaiskie ikony s arabskimi nadpisiami," *Soobshcheniia Gosudarstvennogo Ermitazha* 62 (2004), pp. 134–39, 161.

Pijoan 1907
Joseph Pijoan. "Un nou viatge a Terra Santa en Catalá." *Anuari* (Institut d'Estudis Catalans) 1 (1907), pp. 371–84.

Pratsch 2004
Thomas Pratsch. "Alexandros, Metropolites von Nikaia und Professor für Rhetorik (10. Jh.): Biographische Präzisierungen." *Millennium: Jahrbuch zu Kultur und Geschichte des ersten Jahrtausends n. Chr. / Yearbook on the Culture and History of the First Millennium C.E.* 1 (2004), pp. 243–78.

Pringle 1993–98
Denys Pringle. *The Churches of the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem: A Corpus.* 2 vols. Cambridge, 1993–98.

Pryor 1994
John H. Pryor. "The Voyages of Saewulf." In Huygens 1994, pp. 33–57.

Puech 1980
Émile Puech. "Une inscription éthiopienne ancienne au Sinaï (Wadi Hajjaj)." *Revue biblique* 87 (1980), pp. 597–601.

Quirke 1992
Stephen Quirke. *Ancient Egyptian Religion.* London, 1992.

Rabino 1935
Hyacinth Louis Rabino. "Le Monastère de Sainte-Catherine (Mont-Sinaï): Souvenirs épigraphiques des anciens pèlerins." *Bulletin de la Société Royale de Géographie d'Égypte* 19 (1935), pp. 21–126.

Rabino 1938
Hyacinth Louis Rabino. *Le Monastère de Sainte-Catherine du Mont Sinaï.* Cairo, 1938.

Rassart-Debergh 1990
Marguerite Rassart-Debergh. "De l'icône païenne à l'icône chrétienne." *Le monde copte* 18 (1990), pp. 39–70.

Reallexikon zur byzantinischen Kunst
Reallexikon zur byzantinischen Kunst. 5 vols. to date. Stuttgart, 1966–.

Restle 1969
Marcell Restle. *Byzantine Wall Painting in Asia Minor.* 3 vols. Shannon, 1969.

Reuterswärd 1982
Patrik Reuterswärd. "Windows of Divine Light." *Konsthistorisk tidskrift* 51 (1982), pp. 95–102.

Rickert 1954
Margaret Rickert. *Painting in Britain: The Middle Ages.* Pelican History of Art. Baltimore, 1954.

Roberts 1979
Colin H. Roberts. *Manuscript, Society, and Belief in Early Christian Egypt.* London, 1979.

Rodziewicz 1984
Mieczyslav Rodziewicz. *Les habitations romaines tardives d'Alexandrie: À la lumière des fouilles polonaises à Kôm el-Dikka.* Translated by Z. Kiss. Warsaw, 1984.

Röhricht 1895
Reinhold Röhricht, ed. "Le pèlerinage du moine augustin Jacques de Vérone (1335)." *Revue de l'Orient Latin* 3 (1895), pp. 155–302.

Rome 2000
Il volto di Cristo. Exh. cat. edited by Giovanni Morello and Gerhard Wolf. Rome, Palazzo delle Esposizioni, 2000–2001; Milan, 2000.

Rosenqvist 2002
Jan Olof Rosenqvist. "Local Worshipers, Imperial Patrons: Pilgrimage to St. Eugenios of Trebizond." *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, no. 56 (2002), pp. 193–212.

Ross 1962
Marvin Ross. *Catalogue of the Byzantine and Early Mediaeval Antiquities in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection.* Vol. 1, *Metalwork, Ceramics, Glass, Glyptics, Painting.* Washington, D.C., 1962.

Roth 1981
Theodore the Studite. *On the Holy Icons.* Translated by Catharine P. Roth. Crestwood, N.Y., 1981.

Rouse 1902
William H. D. Rouse. *Greek Votive Offerings: An Essay in the History of Greek Religion.* Cambridge, 1902.

Roussanova 2005
Rossitza B. Roussanova. "Painted Messages of Salvation: Monumental Programs of the Subsidiary Spaces of Late Byzantine Monastic Churches in Macedonia." Ph.D. diss., University of Maryland, 2005.

Rutschowscaya 1986
Marie-Hélène Rutschowscaya. *Catalogue des bois de l'Égypte copte.* Musée du Louvre. Paris, 1986.

Rutschowscaya 1992
Marie-Hélène Rutschowscaya. *La peinture copte.* Paris, 1992

Rutschowscaya 1998
Marie-Hélène Rutschowscaya. *Le Christ et l'abbé Ména.* Paris, 1998.

Saint Petersburg and London 2000
Sinai, Byzantium, Russia: Orthodox Art from the Sixth to the Twentieth Century. Exh. cat. edited by Yuri Piatnitsky, Oriana Baddeley, Earleen Brunner, and Marlia Mundell Mango. Saint Petersburg, The State Hermitage Museum, 2000; London, Courtauld Gallery, 2000–2001. London, 2000.

Saller 1941
Sylvester J. Saller. *The Memorial of Moses on Mount Nebo.* Publications of the Studium Biblicum Franciscanum, no. 1. Jerusalem, 1941.

Saltykov 1981
A. A. Saltykov. *Muzei drevnerusskogo iskusstva imeni Andreia Rubleva.* Leningrad, 1981.

Savin 1996
Olga Savin, trans. *The Way of a Pilgrim.* Boston and London, 1996.

Schiller 1971
Gertrud Schiller. *Iconography of Christian Art.* Translated by Janet Seligman. Vol. 1. Greenwich, Conn., 1971.

Schivelbusch 1988
Wolfgang Schivelbusch. *Disenchanted Night: The Industrialization of Light in the Nineteenth Century.* Translated by Angela Davies. Berkeley, 1988.

Schmidt 2001
Victor M. Schmidt. "Painting and Individual Devotion in Late Medieval Italy: The Case of Saint Catherine of Alexandria." In *Visions of Holiness: Art and Devotion in Renaissance Italy*, edited by Andrew Ladis and Shelley E. Zuraw, pp. 21–36. Issues in the History of Art. Exh. cat., Athens, Georgia Museum of Art, University of Georgia, 1995; Athens, Ga., 2001.

Schrade 2001
Brigitta Schrade. "Byzantium and Its Eastern Barbarians: The Cult of Saints in Svaneti." In *Eastern Approaches to Byzantium: Papers from the Thirty-third Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, University of Warwick, Coventry, March 1999*, edited by Antony Eastmond, pp. 169–97. Society for the Promotion of Byzantine Studies, Publications 9. Aldershot, Hants, England, and Burlington, Vt., 2001.

Schrader 1979
J. L. Schrader. "Antique and Early Christian Sources for the Ruha and Stuma Patens." *Gesta* 18 (1979), pp. 147–56.

Schulz 1986
Hans-Joachim Schulz. *The Byzantine Liturgy: Symbolic Structure and Faith Expression.* New York, 1986.

Seemann 1976
Klaus-Dieter Seemann. *Die altrussische Wallfahrtsliteratur: Theorie und Geschichte eines literarischen Genres.* Munich, 1976.

Sergii 1901
Sergii [Spasskii], Archbishop of Vladimir. *Polnyi mesiatseslov Vostoka.* 2nd ed. 3 vols. Vladimir, 1901. Repr., Moscow, 1997.

I. Ševčenko 1966
Ihor Ševčenko. "The Early Period of the Sinai Monastery in the Light of Its Inscriptions." *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, no. 20 (1966), pp. 255–64.

I. Ševčenko 1980
Ihor Ševčenko. "Constantinople Viewed from the Eastern Provinces in the Middle Byzantine Period." In *Eucharisterion: Essays Presented to Omeljan Pritsak*, edited by Ihor Ševčenko and Frank E. Sysyn, vol. 2, pp. 712–47. Cambridge, Mass., 1980. Issue of *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 3–4 (1979–80). Reprinted in Ihor Ševčenko, *Ideology, Letters and Culture in the Byzantine World* (London, 1982), no. VI.

N. P. Ševčenko 1983
Nancy Patterson Ševčenko. *The Life of Saint Nicholas in Byzantine Art.* Turin, 1983.

N. P. Ševčenko 1990
Nancy Patterson Ševčenko. *Illustrated Manuscripts of the Metaphrastian Menologion.* Chicago, 1990.

N. P. Ševčenko 1992
Nancy Patterson Ševčenko. "Vita Icons and 'Decorated' Icons of the Komnenian Period." In *Four Icons in the Menil Collection*, edited by Bertrand Davezac, pp. 56–59. Houston, 1992.

N. P. Ševčenko 1999
Nancy Patterson Ševčenko. "The Vita Icon and the Painter as Hagiographer." *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, no. 53 (1999), pp. 149–65.

N. P. Ševčenko 2002
Nancy Patterson Ševčenko. "Marking Holy Time: The Byzantine Calendar Icons." In *Byzantinēs eikones: Technē, technikē kai technologia; Diethnes symposio, Gennadeios Vivliothēkē, Amerikanikē Scholē Klasikōn Spoudōn, 20–21 Febouarion 1998 / Byzantine Icons: Art, Technique and Technology; An International Symposium, Gennadius Library, The American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 20–21 February 1998*, edited by Maria Vassilaki, pp. 51–62. Irákhion, 2002.

N. P. Ševčenko 2004
Nancy Patterson Ševčenko. "The Liturgical *Typikon* of Symeon of Sinai." In *Metaphrastes; or, Gained in Translation: Essays and Translations in Honour of Robert H. Jordan*, edited by Margaret Mullett, pp. 274–86. Belfast, 2004.

N. P. Ševčenko 2006
Nancy Patterson Ševčenko. "The Monastery of Mount Sinai and the Cult of St. Catherine." In *Byzantium: Faith and Power; the Symposium*, edited by Sarah T. Brooks. New York, 2006 (in press).

N. P. Ševčenko forthcoming
Nancy Patterson Ševčenko. "St. Catherine of Alexandria and Mount Sinai." In *Ritual and Art: Byzantine Essays for Christopher Walter.* Forthcoming.

Sharpe 1999
John Lawrence Sharpe. "The Earliest Bindings with Wooden Board Covers: The Coptic Contribution to Binding Construction." In Istituto Centrale per la Patologia del Libro Alfonso Gallo, *International Conference on Conservation and Restoration of Archival and Library Materials, Erice, 22nd to 29th April 1996*, edited by Carlo Federici and Paola F. Munafò, pp. 455–78. Palermo, 1999.

Sherrard 1965
Philip Sherrard. *Constantinople: Iconography of a Sacred City.* London, 1965.

Shorr 1954
Dorothy C. Shorr. *The Christ Child in Devotional Images in Italy during the XIV Century.* New York, 1954.

Simmons 1984
Symeon, Archbishop of Thessalonike. *Treatise on Prayer: An Explanation of the Services Conducted in the Orthodox Church.* Translated by H. L. N. Simmons. Brookline, Mass., 1984.

Sinkewicz 1992
Theoleptos, Metropolitan of Philadelphia. *Theoleptos of Philadelphia: The Monastic Discourses.* Edited and translated by Robert E. Sinkewicz. Toronto, 1992.

Sivan 1990
Hagith S. Sivan. "Pilgrimage, Monasticism, and the Emergence of Christian Palestine in the Fourth Century." In *The Blessings of Pilgrimage*, edited by Robert Ousterhout, pp. 54–65. Illinois Byzantine Studies 1. Urbana, 1990.

Skalova 1999
Zuzana Skalova. "Looking through Icons: Note on the Egyptian-Dutch 'Conservation of Coptic Icons Project,' 1989–1996." In *Ägypten und Nubien spätantiker und christlicher Zeit: Akten des 6. Internationalen Koptologenkongresses, Münster, 20.–26. Juli 1996*, vol. 1, *Materielle Kultur, Kunst und religiöses Leben*, edited by Stephen Emmel et al., pp. 375–87. Wiesbaden, 1999.

Soler i Palet 1912
J. Soler i Palet. "Un retaule català del monestir del Sinaí." *Estudis Universitaris Catalans* 6 (1912), pp. 92–94.

Sophronios 1999
Archimandrite Sophronios. "A Journal of the Finding of the New Sinai Finds." In *The New Finds of Sinai*, pp. 25–49. Athens, 1999.

Sörries 2003
Reiner Sörries. *Das Malibu-Triptychon: Ein Totengedenkbild aus dem römischen Ägypten und verwandte Werke der spätantiken Tafelmalerei.* Christliche Archäologie, vol. 4. Dettelbach, 2003.

Sotheby's 1990
Icons, Russian Pictures and Works of Art. Sale cat., Sotheby's, London, November 30, 1990.

G. Sotiriou 1953
Georgios Sotiriou. "Hellēno-aravikai eikones tou Mōyseōs kai tou Prophētou Ēhou tēs Monēs Sina." In *Tome commémoratif du millénaire de la Bibliothèque Patriarcale d'Alexandrie*, pp. 153–55. Alexandria, 1953.

G. Sotiriou and M. G. Sotiriou 1956–58
Georgios Sotiriou and Maria Georgion Sotriou. *Eikones tēs Monēs Sina.* 2 vols. Collection de l'Institut Français d'Athènes, 100, 102. Athens, 1956–58.

Spatharakis 1976
Iohannis Spatharakis. *The Portrait in Byzantine Illuminated Manuscripts.* Leiden, 1976.

Spatharakis 1980–81
Iohannis Spatharakis. "An Unusual Iconographic Type of the Seated Evangelist." *Deltion tēs Christianikēs Archaiologikēs Hetaireias*, 4th ser., 10 (1980–81), pp. 137–46. Reprinted in Iohannis Spatharakis, *Studies in Byzantine Manuscript Illumination and Iconography* (London, 1996), pp. 53–66.

Spieser 1991
Jean-Michel Spieser. "Liturgie et programmes iconographiques." *Travaux et mémoires* 11 (1991), pp. 575–90.

Spieser 1999
Jean-Michel Spieser. "Le développement du templon et les images des Douze Fêtes." In *Les images dans les sociétés médiévales: Pour une histoire comparée*, edited by Jean-Marie Sansterre and Jean-Claude Schmitt, pp. 131–64. Brussels, 1999. Issue of *Bulletin de l'Institut Historique Belge de Rome* 69 (1999).

Ştefănescu 1936
Ioan D. Ştefănescu. *L'illustration des liturgies dans l'art de Byzance et de l'Orient.* Brussels, 1936. Previously published in *Annuaire de l'Institut de Philologie et d'Histoire Orientales* 1 (1932), pp. 21–77; 3 (1935), pp. 403–508.

Stewart 1893–97
Felix Fabri. *The Wanderings of Felix Fabri (ca. 1480–1483 A.D.).* Translated by Aubrey Stewart. 4 vols. Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society, vols. 7–10. London, 1893–97.

Stewart 1895
Ludolph von Sachsen. *Ludolph von Suchem's Description of the Holy Land, and of the Way Thither: Written in the Year A.D. 1350.* Translated by Aubrey Stewart. Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society, vol. 12, no. 3. London, 1895.

Stewart 1896
Marino Sanudo. *Part XIV of Book III of Marino Sanudo's Secrets for True Crusaders to Help Them to Recover the Holy Land, Written in A.D. 1321.* Translated by Aubrey Stewart. Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society, vol. 12, no. 2. London, 1896.

Stichel 1990
Rainer Stichel. *Die Geburt Christi in der russischen Ikonenmalerei: Voraussetzungen in Chaldon und Kunst des christlichen Ostens und Westens.* Stuttgart, 1990.

Stone 1982
Michael E. Stone. *The Armenian Inscriptions from the Sinai.* Cambridge, Mass., 1982.

Stone 1985–86
Michael E. Stone. "Four Further Armenian Epigraphs from the Sinai." *Journal of the Society for Armenian Studies* 2 (1985–86), pp. 78–83.

Stone 1986
Michael E. Stone. "Holy Land Pilgrimage of Armenians before the Arab Conquest." *Revue biblique* 93 (1986), pp. 93–110.

Stone 1992–94
Michael E. Stone, ed. *Rock Inscriptions and Graffiti Project: Catalogue of Inscriptions.* 3 vols. Atlanta, 1992–94.

Stornajolo 1910
Cosimo Stornajolo. *Miniature della omilie di Giacomo monaco (Cod. Vatic. gr. 1162) e dell'Evangeliario greco urbinate (Cod. Vatic. urbin. gr. 2).* Rome, 1910.

Strzygowski 1973
Josef Strzygowski. *Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire. Koptische Kunst. Nos. 7001–7394 et 8742–9200.* Osnabrück, 1973. First ed., 1904.

Tafel and G. M. Thomas 1856–57
Gotthelf Lukas Friedrich Tafel and Georg M. Thomas, eds. *Urkunden zur älteren Handels- und Staatsgeschichte der Republik Venedig.* 3 vols. Vienna, 1856–57.

Tafrali 1913
Oreste Tafrali. "Inscriptions chrétiennes du Sinaï." In Oreste Tafrali, *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'épigraphie byzantines*, pp. 73–89. Paris, 1913.

Taft 1983
Robert F. Taft. *The Liturgy of the Hours in the Christian East: Origins, Meaning, Place in the Life of the Church.* Cochin, Kerala, India, [1983]

Taft 1984
Robert F. Taft. *Beyond East and West: Problems in Liturgical Understanding.* Washington, D.C., 1984.

Taft 1996
Robert F. Taft. "Understanding the Byzantine Anaphoral Oblation." In *Rule of Prayer, Rule of Faith: Essays in Honor of Aidan Kavanagh, O.S.B.*, edited by Nathan Mitchell and John F. Baldovin, pp. 32–55. Collegeville, Minn., 1996.

Tarasov 2002
Oleg Tarasov. *Icon and Devotion: Sacred Spaces in Imperial Russia.* Translated by Robin Milner-Gulland. London, 2002.

Taúfu 1950
Aloysius L. Taúfu, ed. *Acta Honorii III (1216–1227) et Gregorii IX (1227–1241).* Pontificia Commissio ad redigendum Codicem Iuris Canonici Orientalis, Fontes, ser. 4, vol. 3. Vatican City, 1950.

Tel Aviv 1996
Islamic Metalwork. Exh. cat. by Irit Ziffer. Tel Aviv, Muze'on Erets Yiśra'el, 1996.

Teuffel 1995
Christa Gardner von Teuffel. "El Greco's *View of Mount Sinai* as Independent Landscape." In *El Greco of Crete: Praktika tou diethnous epistēmonikou synedriou pou organōthēke me aphormē ta 450 chronia apo tē gennēsē tou zōgraphou, Hērakleio 1–5 Septemvriou 1990 / Proceedings of the International Symposium Held on the Occasion of the 450th Anniversary of the Artist's Birth, Iráklion, Crete, 1–5 September 1990*, edited by Nicos Hadjinicolaou, pp. 161–72. Iráklion, 1995.

Thackston 1986
Nasir-e Khosraw's Book of Travels (Safarnāma). Edited and translated by Wheeler Thackston. Albany, N.Y., 1986.

Theis 2001
Lioba Theis. "Lampen, Leuchten, Licht." In *Byzanz, das Licht aus dem Osten: Kult und Alltag im Byzantinischen Reich vom 4. bis 15. Jahrhundert*, edited by Christoph Stiegemann, pp. 53–64. Mainz, 2001.

Theocharis 1990
Maria Theocharis. "Church Gold Embroideries." In Manafis 1990, pp. 231–42.

J. Thomas and Hero 2000
John Thomas and Angela Constantinides Hero, eds. *Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents: A Complete Translation of the Surviving Founders' "Typika" and Testaments.* 5 vols. Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection. Washington, D.C., 2000.

T. K. Thomas 2000
Thelma K. Thomas. *Late Antique Egyptian Funerary Sculpture: Images for This World and the Next.* Princeton, N.J., 2000.

Thurn 1973
John Scylitzes. *Ioannis Scylitzae Synopsis historiarum.* Edited by Hans Thurn. Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae, vol. 5. Berlin, 1973.

Tischendorf 1876
Constantin von Tischendorf, ed. *Evangelia apocrypha.* Leipzig, 1876. Repr., Hildesheim, 1966.

Toda 2000
Satoshi Toda. "La vie de S. Macaire l'Égyptien." *Analecta Bollandiana* 118 (2000), pp. 267–90.

Toynbee and Painter 1986
Jocelyn M. C. Toynbee and K. S. Painter. "Silver Picture Plates of Late Antiquity: A.D. 300 to 700." *Archaeologia* 108 (1986), pp. 15–65.

Tran 1973
V. Tam Tinh Tran. *Isis Lactans: Corpus des monuments gréco-romains d'Isis allaitant Harpocrate.* Leiden, 1973.

Treadgold 1982
Warren T. Treadgold. "The Unpublished Saint's Life of the Empress Irene (BHG 2205)." *Byzantinische Forschungen* 8 (1982), pp. 237–51.

Troickij 1889
I. Troickij, ed. *Ioannou tou Phoka Ekphrasis eu synopsei tōu ap' Antiocheias mechris Hierosolymōn kastrōn kai chōrōn Syrias, Phoinikēs kai tōn kata Palaistinēn hagiōn topōn. Pravoslavnyĭ palestinskiĭ sbornik* 23 (8, no. 2) (1889). English translation in *Jerusalem Pilgrimage, 1099–1185*, edited by John Wilkinson, with Joyce Hill and W. F. Ryan, Hakluyt Society, 2nd ser., 167 (London, 1988), pp. 315–36.

Tzvetkova-Ivanova 2000
Christina Tzvetkova-Ivanova. "The Virgin Mary of the Burning Bush: From Text to Image." *Rutgers Art Review* 18 (2000), pp. 7–20.

Underwood 1966–75
Paul Atkins Underwood, ed. *The Kariye Djami.* 4 vols. New York, 1966–75.

Urbani 1964
Giovanni Urbani. "Le condizioni del dipinto ed i provvedimenti adottati." *Bollettino dell'Istituto Centrale del Restauro*, nos. 41–44 (1964), pp. 15–24. Issue entitled *Il Restauro della Madonna della Clemenza.*

Uspenskiĭ 1856
Porfiriĭ Uspenskiĭ. *Pervoe puteshestvie v Sinaĭskiĭ monastyr' v 1845 godu.* Saint Petersburg, 1856.

Varnhagen 1891
Hermann Varnhagen. *Zur Geschichte der Legende der Katharina von Alexandrien, nebst lateinischen Texten nach Handschriften der Hof- und Staatsbibliothek in München und der Universitätsbibliothek in Erlangen.* Erlangen, 1891.

Vassilaki 1995
Maria Vassilaki. "Three Questions on the Modena Triptych." In *El Greco of Crete: Praktika tou diethnous epistēmonikou synedriou pou organōthēke me aphormē ta 450 chronia apo tē gennēsē tou zōgraphou, Hērakleio 1–5 Septemvriou 1990 / Proceedings of the International Symposium Held on the Occasion of the 450th Anniversary of the Artist's Birth, Iráklion, Crete, 1–5 September 1990*, edited by Nicos Hadjinicolaou, pp. 119–32. Iráklion, 1995.

Vatican City 2000
I vangeli dei popoli: La parola e l'immagine del Cristo nelle culture e nella storia. Exh. cat. edited by Francesco D'Aiuto, Giovanni Morello, and Ambrogio M. Piazzoni. Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 2000.

Velmans 1974
Tania Velmans. "Le dessin à Byzance." *Monuments et mémoires* (Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, Paris, Commission de la Fondation Piot), vol. 59, pp. 137–70. Paris, 1974.

Van den Ven 1962
Paul van den Ven. *La vie ancienne de S. Syméon Stylite le Jeune (521–594).* Subsidia Hagiographica 32. Brussels, 1962.

Venice 1998
Sebastiano Gentile, ed. *Oriente cristiano e santità: Figure e storie di santi tra Bisanzio e l'Occidente.* Exh. cat. Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, 1998.

Vereecken and Hadermann-Misguich 2000
Jeannine Vereecken and Lydie Hadermann-Misguich. *Les oracles de Léon le Sage illustrés par Georges Klontzas: La version Barozzi dans la Codex Bute.* Venice, 2000.

Vivian 2004
Tim Vivian, ed. and trans. *Saint Macarius the Spirit-bearer: Coptic Texts Relating to Saint Macarius the Great.* Popular Patristics Series. Crestwood, N.Y., 2004.

Vogüé 1860
[Charles J.] Melchior, marquis de Vogüé. *Les églises de Terre Sainte.* Paris, 1860.

Vokotopoulos 1983
Panagiotes L. Vokotopoulos. "Icônes de Michel Damaskinos à Corfou." *Byzantion* 53 (1983), pp. 36–51.

Vokotopoulos 1986
Panagiotes L. Vokotopoulos. "Ena agiōsto triptycho tou Georgiōu Klontza." In *Pepragmena tou Ē' Diethnous Krētologikou Synedriou, B'.* Iráklion, 1986.

Vokotopoulos 1995
Panagiotes L. Vokotopoulos. *Vyzantines eikones.* Hellēnikē Technē. Athens, 1995.

Volbach 1921
Wolfgang Fritz Volbach. *Metallarbeiten des christlichen Kultes in der Spätantike und im frühen Mittelalter.* Mainz, 1921.

Volbach 1962
Wolfgang Fritz Volbach. *Early Christian Art.* Translated by Christopher Ligota. New York, 1962.

Volbach and Lafontaine-Dosogne 1968
Wolfgang Fritz Volbach and Jacqueline Lafontaine-Dosogne. *Byzanz und der Christliche Osten.* Propyläen Kunstgeschichte, vol. 3. Berlin, 1968.

Van de Walle 1964
Baudouin van de Walle. "Sur les traces des pèlerins flamands, hennuyers et liégeois au Monastère Sainte-Catherine du Sinaï." *Handlingen van het Genootschap "Société d'Émulation" te Brugge* 101 (1964), pp. 117–42.

Walter 1980
Christopher Walter. "Bulletin on the Deēsis and Paraclesis." *Revue des études byzantines* 38 (1980), pp. 261–69.

Walter 1982
Christopher Walter. *Art and Ritual in the Byzantine Church*. London, 1982.

Walter 1997
Christopher Walter. "IC XC NI KA: The Apotropaic Function of the Victorious Cross." *Revue des études byzantines* 55 (1997), pp. 193–220.

Walter 2000
Christopher Walter. "The Invention of John the Baptist's Head in the Wall-Calendar at Gračanica." In Christopher Walter, *Pictures as Language: How the Byzantines Exploited Them*, pp. 301–20. London, 2000. First published in *Zbornik za likovne umetnosti* 16 (1980).

Walter 2003
Christopher Walter. *The Warrior Saints in Byzantine Art and Tradition*. Aldershot, Hants, England, 2003.

Ward 1993
Rachel Ward. *Islamic Metalwork*. London, 1993.

Washington 1994
Byzantine Figural Processional Crosses. Exh. cat. by John A. Cotsonis. Byzantine Collection Publications, edited by Susan A. Boyd and Henry Maguire, no. 10. Washington, D.C., Dumbarton Oaks, 1994.

Webb 1999
Diana Webb. *Pilgrims and Pilgrimage in the Medieval West*. London and New York, 1999

Weiss 1988
Gerhard Weiss. "The Pilgrim as Tourist: Travels to the Holy Land as Reflected in Published Accounts of German Pilgrims between 1450 and 1550." In *The Medieval Mediterranean: Cross-Cultural Contacts*, edited by Marilyn J. Chiat and Kathryn L. Reyerson, pp. 119–31. Medieval Studies at Minnesota 3. Saint Cloud, Minn., 1988.

Weissbrod 2003
Ursula Weissbrod. *"Hier liegt der Knecht Gottes—": Gräber in byzantinischen Kirchen und ihr Dekor (11. bis 15. Jahrhundert), unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Höhlenkirchen Kappadokiens*. Mainzer Veröffentlichungen zur Byzantinistik 5. Wiesbaden, 2003.

Weitzmann 1943
Kurt Weitzmann. "An Early Copto-Arabic Miniature in Leningrad." *Ars Islamica* 10 (1943), pp. 119–34.

Weitzmann 1960
Kurt Weitzmann. "The Mandylion and Constantine Porphyrogennetos." *Cahiers archéologiques* 11 (1960), pp. 163–84.

Weitzmann 1963
Kurt Weitzmann. "Thirteenth-Century Crusader Icons on Mount Sinai." *Art Bulletin* 45 (1963), pp. 179–203.

Weitzmann 1964–65
Kurt Weitzmann. "Fragments of an Early St. Nicholas Triptych on Mount Sinai." *Deltion tēs Christianikēs Archaiologikēs Hetaireias*, 4th ser., no. 4 (1964–65), pp. 1–23.

Weitzmann 1965
Kurt Weitzmann. "Eine spätkomnenische Verkündigungsikone des Sinai und die zweite byzantinische Welle des 12. Jahrhunderts." In *Festschrift für Herbert von Einem zum 16. Februar 1965*, edited by Gert von der Osten and Georg Kauffmann, pp. 299–312. Berlin, 1965. Reprinted, with annotations, in Weitzmann 1982b, no. x.

Weitzmann 1966a
Kurt Weitzmann. "The Classical in Byzantine Art as a Mode of Individual Expression." In *Byzantine Art: An European Art; Lectures*, pp. 149–77. Athens, 1966.

Weitzmann 1966b
Kurt Weitzmann. "Icon Painting in the Crusader Kingdom." *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, no. 20 (1966), pp. 49–83.

Weitzmann 1973
Kurt Weitzmann. *Illustrated Manuscripts at Saint Catherine's Monastery on Mount Sinai*. Collegeville, Minn., 1973.

Weitzmann 1974
Kurt W. Weitzmann. "*Loca Sancta* and the Representational Arts of Palestine." *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, no. 28 (1974), pp. 31–55. Reprinted, with annotations, in Weitzmann 1982b, no. II.

Weitzmann 1975
Kurt Weitzmann. "A Group of Early Twelfth-Century Sinai Icons Attributed to Cyprus." In *Studies in the Memory of David Talbot Rice*, edited by Giles Robertson and George Henderson, pp. 47–63. Edinburgh, 1975. Reprinted, with annotations, in Weitzmann 1982b, no. IX.

Weitzmann 1976
Kurt Weitzmann. *The Monastery of Saint Catherine at Mount Sinai: The Icons*. Vol. 1, *From the Sixth to the Tenth Century*. Princeton, N.J., 1976.

Weitzmann 1978
Kurt Weitzmann. *The Icon: Holy Images, Sixth to Fourteenth Century*. New York, 1978.

Weitzmann 1979
Kurt Weitzmann. "Illustrations to the Lives of the Five Martyrs of Sebaste." *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, no. 33 (1979), pp. 95–112.

Weitzmann 1980
Kurt Weitzmann. *Ikonen aus dem Katharinenkloster auf dem Berge Sinai*. Ikonen 12. Berlin, 1980.

Weitzmann 1982a
Kurt Weitzmann. "The Icons of Constantinople." In Weitzmann et al. 1982, pp. 11–83.

Weitzmann 1982b
Kurt Weitzmann. *Studies in the Arts at Sinai: Essays*. Princeton, N.J., 1982.

Weitzmann 1984a
Kurt Weitzmann. "Crusader Icons and Maniera Greca." In *Byzanz und der Westen: Studien zur Kunst des europäischen Mittelalters*, edited by Irmgard Hutter, pp. 143–84. Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-Historische Klasse, Sitzungberichte, vol. 432. Vienna, 1984.

Weitzmann 1984b
Kurt Weitzmann. "Icon Programs of the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries at Sinai." *Deltion tēs Christianikēs Archaiologikēs Hetaireias*, 4th ser., 12 (1984; pub. 1986), pp. 63–116.

Weitzmann 1996
Kurt Weitzmann. *Die byzantinische Buchmalerei des 9. und 10. Jahrhunderts*. 2nd ed. 2 vols. Denkschriften (Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-Historische Klasse), 243, 244. Vienna, 1996.

Weitzmann and Bernabò 1999
Kurt Weitzmann and Massimo Bernabò. *The Byzantine Octateuchs*. 2 vols. Princeton, N.J., 1999.

Weitzmann and Galavaris 1990
Kurt Weitzmann and George Galavaris. *The Monastery of Saint Catherine at Mount Sinai: The Illuminated Greek Manuscripts*. Vol. 1, *From the Ninth to the Twelfth Century*. Princeton, N.J., 1990.

Weitzmann and I. Ševčenko 1963
Kurt Weitzmann and Ihor Ševčenko. "The Moses Cross at Sinai." *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, no. 17 (1963), pp. 385–98. Reprinted, with annotations, in Weitzmann 1982b, no. IV.

Weitzmann, M. Chatzidakis, and Radojčić 1967
Kurt Weitzmann, Manolis Chatzidakis, and Svetozar Radojčić. *Icons*. New York, [1967].

Weitzmann, M. Chatzidakis, and Radojčić 1980
Kurt Weitzmann, Manolis Chatzidakis, and Svetozar Radojčić. *Icons*. New York, [1980].

Weitzmann et al. 1966
Kurt Weitzmann, Manolis Chatzidakis, Krsto Matev, and Svetozar Radojčić. *A Treasury of Icons, Sixth to Seventeenth Centuries, from the Sinai Peninsula, Greece, Bulgaria, and Yugoslavia*. Translated by Robert E. Wolf. New York, 1966.

Weitzmann et al. 1982
Kurt Weitzmann, Ganane Alibegašvili, Aneli Volskaja, Manolis Chatzidakis, Gordana Babić, Mihail Alpatov, and Teodora Voinescu. *The Icon*. New York, 1982.

Wessel 1964
Klaus Wessel. *Abendmahl und Apostelkommunion*. Recklinghausen, 1964.

Wilkinson 1981
John Wilkinson, ed. *Egeria's Travels to the Holy Land*. Rev. ed. Warminster, 1981.

Williamson 1966
Eusebius. *Ecclesiastical History*. Translated by G. A. Williamson. New York, 1966.

Witt 1997
R. E. Witt. *Isis in the Ancient World*. Baltimore, 1997 1st ed.: *Isis in the Graeco-Roman World* (Ithaca, 1971).

Woodfin 2004
Warren Woodfin. "Liturgical Textiles." In New York 2004, pp. 295–99.

A. G. Xydis 1955
Alexander G. Xydis. "El Greco's Iconographical Sources." In *El Greco of Crete: Praktika tou diethnous epistēmonikou synedriou pou organōthēke me aphormē ta 450 chronia apo tē gennēsē tou zōgraphou, Hērakleio 1–5 Septemvriou 1990 / Proceedings of the International Symposium Held on the Occasion of the 450th Anniversary of the Artist's Birth, Iráklion, Crete, 1–5 September 1990*, edited by Nicos Hadjinicolaou, pp. 141–59. Iráklion, 1995.

S. G. Xydis 1947
Stephen G. Xydis. "The Chancel Barrier, Solea, and Ambo of Hagia Sophia." *Art Bulletin* 29 (March 1947), pp. 1–24.

Xyngopoulos 1957
Andreas Xyngopoulos. *Schediasma historias tēs thrēskeutikēs zōgraphikēs meta tēn halōsin*. Vivliothēkē tēs en Athēnais Archaiologikēs Hetaireias 40. Athens, 1957.

Zakharova 2004
A. V. Zakharova. "Vizantiiskie illustrirovannye prazdnichnye lektsionarii (tip Isel)." *Vizantiiskii vremennik* 63/88 (2004), pp. 242–50.

Zibawi 2003
Mahmoud Zibawi. *L'arte copta: L'Egitto cristiano dalle origini al XI III secolo*. Milan, 2003.

About the Contributors

CHARLES BARBER is associate professor in the Department of Art, Art History and Design at the University of Notre Dame. His publications include *Figure and Likeness: On the Limits of Representation in Byzantine Iconoclasm* (2002) and *The Theodore Psalter* (British Library Add. 19352), a CD-ROM facsimile (2000). His work examines theories of art and aesthetics in Byzantium.

GUDRUN BÜHL is curator of the Byzantine Collection and museum director of Dumbarton Oaks Research Institute and Collection, Washington, D.C. Before coming to Washington she taught at the Freie Universitaet and was assistant curator at the Museum of Byzantine Art, Berlin. She has published on Byzantine ivory carving as well as on early Byzantine iconography, and her current research project is a study on early Byzantine ivory pyxides.

PAROMA CHATTERJEE is a graduate student at the University of Chicago. She held a Dumbarton Oaks Junior Fellowship in 2005–6. Her dissertation focuses on Byżantine and Italian narrative icons in the context of the interactions between those cultures.

KRISTEN M. COLLINS is assistant curator in the Department of Manuscripts at the J. Paul Getty Museum. She is completing her doctorate at the University of Texas at Austin with a dissertation on images of the Virgin in Ottonian Germany. She specializes in early-medieval and Romanesque manuscript illumination.

REBECCA W. CORRIE is Phillips Professor of Art and Visual Culture at Bates College, where she has served as chair of the Division of Humanities. She received her Ph.D. from Harvard University with a dissertation on the Conradin Bible, and writes on the relationship between Byzantine and Italian painting in the thirteenth century, especially images of the Virgin and illuminated manuscripts.

SHARON E. J. GERSTEL is associate professor of Byzantine art at the University of California, Los Angeles. Her publications include *Beholding the Sacred Mysteries* (1999) and *A Lost Art Rediscovered: The Architectural Ceramics of Byzantium* (2001). She is editor of *Thresholds of the Sacred: Art Historical, Archaeological, Liturgical and Theological Views on Religious Screens, East and West* (2006), and she is currently completing a book titled "Painting, Piety and the Peasantry in Late Byzantium."

KRISTINE M. HESS is a Ph.D. candidate at the University of Chicago in the Department of Art History. Her area of study is late Byzantine art with interests in the cult of saints and sacred geography/theories of mapping. She received her M.A. in art history from Pennsylvania State University in 2002.

DAVID JACOBY is emeritus professor of history at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. He has published extensively on Byzantium and the Crusader states of the Levant and Egypt, as well as on intercultural exchanges between the West and the eastern Mediterranean in the eleventh to fifteenth century. He is currently writing a book on medieval silk production and trade in the Mediterranean region.

LINDA KOMAROFF is curator of Islamic art at the Los Angeles County Museum of Art. Her exhibitions there include *Letters in Gold: Ottoman Calligraphy from the Sakip Sabanci Collection* (1999), and *The Legacy of Genghis Khan: Courtly Art and Culture in Western Asia* (2003); her forthcoming exhibition is *Gifts of the Sultan: The Arts of Giving at the Islamic Courts.*

ANNE LABATT is a Ph.D. candidate in the history of art at Yale University. She received her undergraduate degree from Barnard College in 2002 and her M.Phil. from the University of Glasgow (Christie's Education) in 2003. Her focus is on late Byzantine art and its transferal into Italy.

THOMAS F. MATHEWS holds advanced degrees in both theology and the history of art and has specialized in the problems of the origin of Christian art and its religious context. After thirty years as professor of Byzantine art at the Institute of Fine Arts, New York University, he has relocated to Paris, where he is compiling a corpus of pre-Christian icons from Roman Egypt.

ROBERT S. NELSON, the Robert Lehman Professor of the History of Art at Yale University, teaches and writes about the art of the eastern Mediterranean and its reception in the modern world. His recent work includes *Hagia Sophia 1850–1950: Holy Wisdom Modern Monument* (2004) and the edited volume *Visuality Before and Beyond the Renaissance* (2000).

GEORGI R. PARPULOV was born in Plovdiv, Bulgaria, in 1970. He studied history at the University of Sofia and received his Ph.D. in art history from the University of Chicago. He currently works at the Department of Medieval Art of The Walters Art Museum in Baltimore.

GLENN PEERS is associate professor in the Department of Art and Art History at the University of Texas and is the author of *Subtle Bodies: Representing Angels in Byzantium* (2001) and *Sacred Shock: Framing Visual Experience in Byzantium* (2004). He holds a doctorate from the Johns Hopkins University.

BISSERA V. PENTCHEVA is assistant professor of medieval art at Stanford University. Her work focuses on medieval image theory and Byzantine icons. Her first book, *Icons and Power: The Mother of God in Byzantium* (2006), explores the interaction between imperial power and the cult of Mary. Her current research focuses on the icon and its multisensory power.

NANCY PATTERSON ŠEVČENKO is an independent scholar currently living in Vermont. She is the author of *The Life of St. Nicholas in Byzantine Art* and other books and articles dealing with illustrated lives of the saints and the relation between Byzantine art and the liturgy. She has taught courses in Byzantine art at Georgetown, Princeton, and Rutgers Universities and is presently a vice president of the Association Internationale des Études Byzantines.

FATHER JUSTIN SINAITES is a monk and priest at the Holy Monastery of Saint Catherine at Sinai, where he also currently serves as librarian and member of the Holy Council.

ANGELA VOLAN received her Ph.D. in Byzantine art history from the University of Chicago in 2005. In 2005–6 she was the Mary Seeger O'Boyle Post-Doctoral Research Fellow in the Program in Hellenic Studies at Princeton University. Her most recent work focused on the illumination and circulation of Byzantine apocalyptic prophecies in the Greek colonies of Venice during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. She died on June 25, 2006.

WARREN WOODFIN has held teaching positions and research fellowships at Duke University, Princeton University, and the University of Pennsylvania. He currently teaches at the Cooper-Hewitt, National Design Museum. He specializes in the arts of the late Byzantine period and is currently preparing a book on the subject of Byzantine liturgical vestments and their embroidered imagery.

Index of Names

Note: Page numbers in *italics* refer to illustrations. Page numbers in **bold** refer to primary catalogue entries.

Aaron (priest) (cat. no. 23), *112*, 161, *180*, **181**
Abgar (king of Edessa), *134*, 135
Acre (Israel)
  icons from, 80, 84, 145, 157, 251
  and pilgrimage, 82, 83, 84, 85
Adorno, Anselmo, 85, 87, 88
Adorno, Giovanni, 85, 93n54
Aegyptisches Museum, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, *49*
Agathias (historian), 45, 54
Aila (Israel), 80
Akropolites, Constantine, 241
Alexander of Nicaea, 137
Alexandria (Egypt), 40, 85
Amalric (king of Jerusalem), 82
Ananias (messenger), 135
Anastasios (monk), 129
Anastasios of Armenia, 93n13
Anna, Saint, 108, 110
Antonios (archbishop), 247
Apollonius of Rhodes, *Argonautica*, 67
Apostolic Constitutions, 219
Aragon, 269
Archaeological Museum (Istanbul), 217, 219
Arezzo, Donato d' and Gregorio d', Saint Catherine and Scenes from Her Life (cat. no. 60), *276*, **277**, *277*
Arezzo, Margaritone d', 277
Armenia, 80, 91
Aspra-Vardavakis, M., 118n54
Athanasios, Saint, *187*, 187–88
Augustus, 44
Auxentios, monastery of, 221
Auxentios, Saint, 175–76, 221

Bacchus, Saint
  in icons, 51–52, 125, *126*, 127, *250*, 251–53, 252
  Justinian and, 52, 127
Badische Landesbibliothek (Karlsruhe, Germany), *87*
Baldwin I (king of Jerusalem), 82
Baravatzé, George, 77n21
Barbara, Saint, *262*, 263
Basil, Saint (cat. no. 26), 25, 32, 70, *186*, **187–88**
Basilica of Justinian, 89. *See also* church of the Holy Monastery of Saint Catherine
Basilica of Santa Maria in Trastevere (Rome), 42, 50, *50*, 51, 127
Basil II (Byzantine emperor), 104, 138
Bawit (Egypt), 53, 54
Bayerische Staatsbibliothek (Munich), *112*, 113
Belting, Hans, 123, 135
Benedict I, Pope, 50
Bettini, Sergio, 275n4
Bibliotecа Medicea Laurenziana (Florence)
Bibliothèque nationale de France (Paris), 39, *40*, 42, 43, 54, 123, *123*, 202
Bohdan and Varvara Khanenko Museum of Arts (Kiev), 33, 47, *47*, 51–52, *124*, 125, *126*, 127, 135, 206
Breydenbach, Bernhard von, *Die heylgen reyssen gen Jherusalem*, 85, *86*
Burning Bush, Chapel of the. *See* Chapel of the Burning Bush

Cairo (Egypt), 80, 85–87
Capodilista, Gabriele, 88, *89*
Carr, A. W., 143n5
Catherine, Saint. *See also index of works*
  cult of, 36, 79–80, 83, 92, 101, 104–5
  in icons (cat. nos. 55–58, 60), *92*, *95*, *102*, *106*, *264*, 265, *266*, 267, *268*, 269, *269*, *270*, 271–73, *275*
  in institutional identity, 96–97, 100–105, 113, 116, 272, 273
  life of (cat. no. 60), 79–80, 101–4, *264*, 265, *270*, *276*, 277
  in manuscript illustration, *92*
  martyrdom of, 79–80, 85, 101–4
  Mary associated with (cat. no. 56), 96, 106, *274*, *266*, 267, 275
  in pilgrimages, 79–92
Chalcedon, Council of, 47
Chapel of the Burning Bush
  apse of, *78*, 187, 188n14
  icons in, 100, 187, 188n14, 257
  location of, 8, 10
  pilgrimage to, 145
Chapel of the Forty Martyrs, 213, *213*
Chapel of the Holy Fathers, 10, 233
Chapel of the Holy Five, 176, 176n6
Chapel of Saint Catherine of the Franks, 143
Chapel of Saint James, 10, 116, *117*, 119n64, 273
Chapel of Saint Stephen, 223, *224–25*
Chapel of the Sinai Fathers, 221
Charlemagne, 63–64
Chartres Cathedral (Chartres, France), 110, 111, *111*, *112*, 113
Chatzidakis, Manoles, 149, 188, 188n17
Chora Monastery (Constantinople), 193
Christ (Jesus). *See also index of works*
  in apse mosaic, 10–12, *13*, 18–19
  as child, in early icons, 47–51, *140*, 141, *141*, *142*, *144*, 145, *145*, *166*, 167, *256*, *257*
  in Codex Theodosianus (cat. no. 7), 62–65, *63*, *136*, 137–38
  in Gospel Lectionary (cat. no. 34), *208*, 209
  Gospels on, 70–71
  on light, 25
  Maximus the Confessor on, 71–73
  on prayer, 40
  Transfiguration of, 71–76
Chrysostom, Saint John, 149, 187–88
church of The Holy Monastery of Saint Catherine (church of the Theotokos), 7–36. *See also specific chapels*
  altar of, 19–21, *20*, *21*, *22*, *23*, 34
  apse mosaic in, 10–15, *13*, 18–19, 21, *24*, *74*, *75*, 75–76, 97, 233
  apse of, 10–12
  bema of, 9–10, 19–21, *23*, *28–29*
  ceiling and roof of, 16
  chancel panels of, 211, *213*
  east wall mosaics in, *13*, *212*, 213
  exterior of, *6*, *19*
  icons displayed in, 10, *11*, 27–36
  light in, 16–33, *18*, *26*, *28*
  narthex of, 10, *12*, 193
  narthex doors of, 10, *12*, 15
  nave of, *8–9*, 9–10, *11*, 16, *18*
  sanctuary doors of, *178*, 179, *179*, *180*, 181, *181*
  templon of, 10, 34, 35
  windows of, 16–19, *18*, *19*
Church of the Holy Sepulchre (Jerusalem), 44
Church of the Koimesis (Nicaea), 18, *19*
Church of Saints Cosmas and Damian (Rome), 18
Cimmerians, 66–67
Climacus, Saint John, 205, 243
  The Heavenly Ladder, 243, 245. *See also index of works*
  in icons (cat. nos. 47, 48), 12, 36, 153, 205, *242*, 243, *244*, 245–47, *246*
Collection of Saint Catherine of Sinai (Iráklion, Crete), 36, *274*, 275, 279–80
Constantine the Great (Roman emperor), 16, 21, 61, 79
Constantine V (Byzantine emperor), 64
Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos (Byzantine emperor), 135
Constantinople
  Chora Monastery in, 193
  Hagia Sophia (Great Church) in, 24, 26, 53–54, 55n47, 66, 211, 215, 221n3, 227
  Kecharitome monastery in, 221
  Pantocrator Monastery in, 26, 221n5
  Saint Polyeuktos church in, 54
Cormack, Robin, 55n47
Corrigan, Kathleen, 125
Crete, 83, 105, 280
Cyprus, 141–43
Cyril of Alexandria, 47

Damaskenos, Michael, 36, 275
  The Virgin of the Burning Bush (cat. no. 59), 36, *274*, 275, 279
Daniel (archbishop), 89–90
Daniel (prophet), 109, 149
Darrouzès, Jean, 67
David (prophet), 19
Dayr al-Suryan (Monastery of the Syrians, Wadi al-Natrun, Egypt), 109, *109*
Deir Mar Musa al-Habashi (Syria), *252*
De Menil Collection (Houston), 217
Demetrius, Saint, 221, 251
Dionysios the Areopagite, *Ecclesiastical Hierarchy*, 64
Dioscorides, *De Materia Medica*, 223, *223*
Drandaki, Anastasia, 118n3
Duelt, Daniel, 269, 269n2
Dumbarton Oaks (Washington, D.C.), 10, 24, 34, 211, *214*, 215, *215*, *216*, 217, *217*, 219, *219*

Ecumenical Council, Seventh, 33, 34, 63–64
Egeria (nun), 3, 7–8, 55n53, 79, 95
El Greco, 231
  Triptych with Scenes of the Old and New Testaments (cat. no. 61), 32, 35, 36, 235, *278*, *279*, 279–80, *280*, *281*
  View of Mount Sinai, 235, *235*, 280
Elat (Israel), 80
Elijah (prophet) (cat. no. 28), *190*, **191**
  in apse mosaic, 12, 75
  cave of, 7, 79, 95–96
  in icons, 145, 157, 161, *190*, 191, 193, 233, *234*, 235
  John the Baptist and, 125
Elijah the Younger, Saint, 82
Elizabeth, Saint, 155
Elsner, Jaś, 12
Ephesus, Council of, 47
Epiphanius (bishop), 123
Epiphanius (pilgrim), 104
er-Raha plain, 1, *6*
Ethiopia, 80
Eugenios, Saint, 175–76
Eusebius of Caesarea, 45
Eustratios, Saint, 175–76, 176n4, 176n5, 209
Euthymios II of Jerusalem (patriarch), 149, *258*, 259, *260*
  tombstone of, 259, *261*

Euthymios the Great, Saint, 259
Evagrius the Solitary, 76
Exodus, book of, 1–3, 9, 231
Ezekiel (prophet), 108, 109, 219

Faber, Felix, 85, 87–88, 91, 93n54
Farnese, Alessandro, 280
Folda, Jaroslav, 145
Fontana, Giovanni Battista, 279
Forsyth, George, 16
Forty Martyrs, Chapel of the, 213, *213*
Franceschino of Pontremoli, 85
Freer Gallery of Art (Washington, D.C.), *223*
Frescobaldi, Lionardo, 85, 87
Fretellus, Rorgo, 82
Frotmundus (pilgrim), 82
Fulk (king of Jerusalem), 82

Gabriel (angel), 153, 179
Galavaris, George, 131
Galla Placidia, Mausoleum of (Ravenna), *228*
Galleria Estense (Modena), *278*, 279–280, *279*, *280*, *281*
Genesis, book of, 25
George, Saint, *132*, 133, *158*, 159, 221, *221*, 251
George of Nicomedia, Saint, 66
Georgia, 80–82, 91
Giacomo da Verona, 88, *90*
Giorgi II (king of Georgia), 82
Gomer, 67
Gorasma (monk), 93n8
Graeco-Roman Museum (Alexandria), 51, *53*
Great Church (Constantinople), 26. *See also* Hagia Sophia
Greek Orthodox Patriarchate (Jerusalem), 108, *108*, 110–12, 267
Grefenj (archimandrite), 91
Gregorius (monk), 239
Gregory I, Pope, 93n99
Gregory Nazianzenus, Saint (cat. no. 45), 35, 145, *145*, *238*, 239
Gregory of Nyssa, 96, 110
Life of Moses, 12, 16, 118n56
Grossman, Peter, 37n6
Guyon, Catherine, 118n40

Habakkuk (prophet), 149
Hafiz (caliph), 82
Hagia Sophia (Constantinople). *See also* Great Church
altar of, 211, *215*
early icons at, 53–54
epitrachelion at, 227
under Justinian, 24, 53–54, 215
lighting in, 24, 221n3
Mary in mosaic at, 55n47, 66

al-Hakim (Egyptian sultan), 82
Harpocrates (god), 47
Harris, Rendel, *57*
Hebrews, Epistle to the, 64
Heidegger, Martin, 231
Herod (king of Judea), 155
Historical Museum of Crete (Irákhion), 235, *235*, 280
Holy Fathers, Chapel of the, 10, 233
Holy Five, Chapel of the, 176, 176n6
Holy Monastery of Saint Catherine (Sinai), *2*, *3*, *4–5*
church of (*See* church)
construction of, 41, 79
early icons of, 39–54
entrance to, 8–9
history and structure of, 1, 8–36
institutional identity of, 95–116
manuscripts of (*See* Sinai)
pilgrimage to, 79–92
Holy Sepulchre, Church of the (Jerusalem), 44
Honorius III, Pope, 83, 93n31, 105
Horeb, Mount (Jebel Sufsafeh), 7, 79, 191, 235n3
Horus (god), 47
Hosios Petros, 66–67. *See also* Peter of Monobata
Hunt, Lucy-Anne, 109, 118n53

Ioane Minchi, 82
Irene (Byzantine empress), 36
Irene, Saint, *262*, 263
Isaiah (prophet), *109*, 109, *257*
Isambert (abbot), 269
Isis (goddess), 39, 47–49, *49*

J. Paul Getty Museum (Los Angeles), 36, 49, *49*, *276*, *277*, *277*
Jacoby, David, 104
James (monk), *Homilies*, 110, 267
James, Saint
in apse mosaic, 12, 75
in icons, 273
James Adelphotheos, Saint, 187, *188*
Jean, duc de Berry, *Belles Heures of*, 92, *92*
Jebel Katrina, 80, 235, 275
Jebel Musa, *2*, 6, *7*, 79, 191, 235
church at summit of, 6, *7*
Jebel Sufsafeh (Mount Horeb), 7, 79, 191, 235n3
Jerusalem
Church of the Holy Sepulchre in, 44
pilgrimage from, 80, 87
Saint Chariton monastery in, 202
Saint Sabas monastery in, 96, 97, 98, 202
Jesus. *See* Christ
Joachim, Saint, 108, 110
Joachim of Drama (patriarch), 228n7
John, Acts of, 43, 45
John, Epistles of, 43
John, Gospel of, 25, 60, 61, 62, 201
John III, Pope, 50
John XXII, Pope, 84
John Aliphera, Father, *26*, 26–27
John the Apostle, Saint
in apse mosaic, 12, 75
in Codex Theodosianus, 60, 68, *70*
in Gospel Book in Arabic, *200*, 201
in Gospel Lectionary, *208*, 209
and votive offerings, 43
John the Baptist, Saint, *124*, 125
John Chrystostom, Saint (cat. no. 27), 187–89, *189*
John Climacus, Saint. *See also index of works*
The Heavenly Ladder, 12–15, 205, 243, 245–47, 249
in icons (cat. nos. 47, 48), *242*, *243*, *244*, *245*, *246*, 247, 261
life of, 205, 243
Maximus the Confessor and, 71
on sleep, 12–15
John of Damascus, Saint, 275
Three Treatises on the Divine Images, 70–71
John Eleimon, Saint, *187*, 187–88
John the Iberian, 159n3
John the Orphanotrophos, 77n21, 137
John of Würzburg, 82
Joseph (monk), 239
Joseph, Saint, 155, 167
Joseph of Arimathea, Saint, 167
Joseph the Hymnographer, Saint, 66
Jude, Epistle of, 151
Jupiter Tonans, 44
Justin Sinaites, Father, *11*, 34
Justin I (Byzantine emperor), 52
Justin II (Byzantine emperor), 51, 217, 219
Justinian (Byzantine emperor)
and Codex Theodosianus, 58
Hagia Sophia under, 24, 53–54, 215
icons dedicated by, 40–41, 51–52
inscriptions referring to, 9, 16, 215
and lighting, 24–25, 26
Peter and, 52, 123
piety of, 40–41
pilgrimage by, 89
and "Riha" Chalice, 215
Saint Catherine's Monastery built by, 1, 40–41, 79
Sergius and Bacchus and, 52, 127
Justinian II (Byzantine emperor), 51

al-Kamil (sultan), 84
Kecharitome, monastery of (Constantinople), 221
Kellis (Egypt), 53
Kitzinger, Ernst, 52
Klimos (monk), 161
Kloutzas, Georgios, 35, 233
Transfiguration with Scenes of Monastic Life (cat. no. 42), 10, 35, *232*, 233, 259
Komnenis, Church of the (Nicaea), 18, *19*
Kom el-Dikka D (Alexandria), 40, *40*
Kondakov, Nikodim, 58, 143n4
Kosmas (archbishop), 58

Lagoudera (Cyprus), *141*, 141–43
Lalleman, Pieter, 43
Lavra Monastery (Mount Athos), 221
Leo (messenger), 51
Leo III (Byzantine emperor), 41, 241
Leo X, Pope, 93n34
Library of the Russian Academy of Sciences (Saint Petersburg), 201, *203*
Limbourg, Pol, Jean, and Herman de, *92*
Longinus (abbot), 52
Lossky, Vladimir, 64–65
Louis IX (king of France), 157
Louvre (Paris), 54, 55n65
Ludolph of Suchem, 118n28, 265n5
Ludolph of Sudheim, 88
Luke, Gospel of, 201
Luke, Saint
in Codex Theodosianus, 68, *70*
in Gospel Lectionary, *208*, 209

Macarius the Great, Saint (cat. no. 44), *236*, 237
al-Makhzumi, 84
Mandeville, Sir John, 96
Mar Sarkis (Lebanon), *252*
Mardarios, Saint, 175–76
Maresa, Bernardo, 269
Margaret (queen of Denmark), 93n48
Marina, Saint, *102*, *103*, 104, 118n33
Mark, Gospel of, 201
Mark, Saint
in Codex Theodosianus, 67–68, *69*
in Gospel Lectionary, *208*, 209
in icons, *187*, 187–88
Mart Barbara, church of (Tripoli), 112
Martinus of Villanova, 269
Saint Catherine (cat. no. 57), *268*, 269, *269*
Mary. *See also index of works*
Catherine associated with, 96, 106
in Codex Theodosianus, 65, 65–66
in early icons, 47–51
in Hagia Sofia mosaic, 55n47, 66
iconography of, 96–100, 106–13
in institutional identity, 95–100, 105–15
Master of Saint Cecilia, 277
Matthew (priest/monk), 228
Matthew, Gospel of, 40, 62, 201
Matthew, Saint
in Codex Theodosianus, 67–68, *68*
in Gospel Book in Arabic, 201, *203*
in Gospel Lectionary, *208*, 209
Mavroudi, Maria, 201, 203n4, 203n5
Maxentius (Roman emperor), 101–4
Maximian (Roman emperor), 127
Maximos III Christonymos (patriarch), 90
Maximus the Confessor, Saint, 71–73

Merkourios, Saint, 97
Metropolitan Alexander of Nicaea, 66–67
Metropolitan Museum of Art (New York), 54, *54*, 55n65, 92, *92*, *228*
Michael, Father, 9
Michael, Saint, 33, 45, 151
Michael IV (Byzantine emperor), 137
Michael VII (Byzantine emperor), 205
Monastery of Saint Antony, 237
Monastery of Saint Apollo, (Bawit), 99, *99*, 133
Monastery of the Syrians. *See* Dar al-Suryan
Monobata (place), 66–67, 77n21, 137
Morton, H. V., 58
Moses, 1–3. *See also index of works*
  in apse mosaic, 12, 15, 16, *18*, 19, 75, 97
  and Burning Bush, 1, 9, 16, 95, 110–13, *112*
  Gregory of Nyssa on, 12
  in institutional identity, 95–97, 107–9, 115–16
  pilgrimage associated with, 79
  and Ten Commandments, 3, 7, *180*
Moskos, Iacovos, 235
  View of Mount Sinai with Scenes of Monastic Life (cat. no. 43), 35, 36, *234*, 235, 249, 280
Mount Athos, Lavra Monastery, 221
Mount Sinai (Egypt), 2, 3–7, *3*, *4–5*
  in icons, *233*, 234, 280, *280*, *281*
Mouriki, Doula, 100, 118n48, 118n50, 119n62, 153, 176n6, 257
Muller, Norman, 127n7
Museum of the Cathedral (Monza), 98, *99*

Nasir-i Khusraw, 223, 225n7
National Library of Russia (Saint Petersburg), 202
Nebuchadnezzar (king of Babylon), 149
Neilos, Father, 9
Neilos Scholasticus, 54
Niccolò da Poggibonsi, 37n9, 87, 88, 95, 96, 106–7, 118n3
Niccolò di Martoni, 87, 88
Nicholas, Saint, *160*, 161, 161n1, *262*, 263
Nicholas of Myra, 161n1
Nicholas of Sion, 161n1
Nicodemus, Saint, 167

Odysseus, 67
Ogier VIII, lord of Anglure, 85
Onufrius, Saint, 157
Orestes, Saint, 175–76
Origen (theologian), 18, 40, 47
Orsini, Fulvio, 280

Paisios (pilgrim), 181n7, 187, 188n4
Palestine, 82
Palladas, Jeremiah, Saint Catherine of Alexandria, *94*, 116
Pantocrator Monastery (Constantinople), 26, 221n5
Paul, Father, 9
Paul, Saint, 52, 72
Peers, Glenn, 159n5
Peter, the painter, 36,
  Virgin with Moses and Patriarch Euthymios II of Jerusalem (cat. no. 53), *258*, 259–61, *260*
Peter, Saint, 123
  in apse mosaic, 12, 15, 75
  in Codex Theodosianus, *66–69*, *139*
  in icons (cat. no. 1), 33, 51–52, *120*, *122*, 123, 125
  Justinian and, 52, 123
Peter I (king of Cyprus), 85
Peter of Monobata, Saint, 137, *139*. *See also* Hosios Petros
Pharan, 8
Philes, Manuel, 255n4
Philip of Nablus, 83, 84
Philochristos (monk?), 45, 51
Phokas, John, 84, 93n39
Photius (patriarch), 66
Pimen (monk), 36, 159n3, 161
Plato, 72
Pliny the Elder, 127
Pratsch, Thomas, 67
Proclus (philosopher), 110
Procopius, Saint, 107–8, 221
Procopius (historian), 51, 55n52, 96, 118n4
Prudhoe, Lord, 58, 77n1
Psalms, book of, 8–9

Raithou, 89–90
Reuterswärd, Patrik, 16–18
Reuwich, Erhard, 85
Romanos I (Byzantine emperor), 135
Rouse, William, 44, 55n25, 55n52
Russia, 91
Rustici, Marco di Bartolommeo, 91
Rusticiana (pilgrim), 93n99

Sabas, Saint, 96, 97, *262*, 263
Saewulf (Englishman), 82
Saint Antony, Monastery of, 237
Saint Apollo, Monastery of (Bawit), 99, *99*, 133
Saint Catherine of the Franks, Chapel of, 145
Saint Catherine's Monastery. *See* Holy Monastery of Saint Catherine
Saint Chariton, monastery of (Jerusalem), 202
Saint James, Chapel of, 10, 116, *117*, 119n64, 273
Saint-Jean d'Acre (Akko), 145, 157
Saint Nicholas Orphanos, church of (Thessaloniki), 116
Saint Polyeuktos, church of (Constantinople), 54
Saint Sabas, monastery of (Jerusalem), 96, 97, 98, 202
Saint Stephen, Chapel of, 223, *224–25*
Saqqara (Egypt), 53
Sava, Saint, 84
Schmidt, Victor M., 277n4
Serapis, 51
Sergius, Saint
  in icons (cat. nos. 3, 50), 51–52, 125, *126*, 127, *250*, 251–53
  Justinian and, 52, 127
Ševčenko, Nancy, 97, 105, 118n27, 161n6
Sharpe, John Lawrence, 55n15
Sherrard, Philip, 67
Simon Magus, 123
Sinai peninsula, map of, *81*
Sotiriou, George, 39, 159n3, 161n3
Sotiriou, Maria, 39, 159n3, 161n3
Sphoracius, 45
Stefan Nemanja (king of Serbia), 84
Stephanos (architect), 16
Stephen (painter/patron), 34, 191, 193
al-Subki (jurist), 85
Symeon (abbot), *Typikon*, 83, 96–97, 105, 265n3
Symeon Metaphrastes, 80, 101–2
Symeon Stylites, Saint, 157, 195, 263
Symeon of Thessaloniki, 25–26, 27, 179
Symeon the Younger, Saint, 45
Syria, 82

Tafur, Pero, 87
Tamar (queen of Georgia), 265
Thaddaeus (apostle), 135
Theodora (Byzantine empress), 16
Theodora (donor), 213
Theodore, Saint, 45, 51, *132*, 221, 251
Theodore the Studite, Saint, 64, 70, 76, 77n6
Theodoric (German pilgrim), 82
Theodosia, Saint (cat. no. 46), 36, *240*, **241**
Theodosius (Byzantine emperor), 127, 137
Theoleptos of Philadelphia, 255n5
Theotokos, church of the. *See* church of the Holy Monastery of Saint Catherine
Theotokos Monastery (Kaftoun), *252*, 253
Thessaloniki, church of Saint Nicholas Orphanos, 116
Thietmar (German pilgrim), 83–84, 93n36, 104, 105
Tischendorf, Constantin von, 58
Tripoli, church of Mart Barbara, 112
Trullo, Council of, 125
Tzvetkova-Ivanova, Christina, 110

University Libraries (Princeton), 202
Uspenskii, Porfirii, 137

Varsonofij (monk), 91
Vasilij (merchant), 91
Venice (Italy), 85, *87*, 279
Vichensky, Hippolyt, 58
Virgin. *See* Mary
Vrondisi Monastery (Crete), 275n5

Wadi Haggag, 80, 91
Weitzmann, Kurt, 15, 39, 41, 51, 55n15, 55n66, 69, 97–98, 105, 108, 118n13, 118n38, 118n44, 118n54, 123, 125, 127, 131, 133, 133n5, 135, 145, 153, 172, 175, 257, 277n2
Wolf, Gerhard, 135, 135n5
Workshop of the Soldier Saints, 251

Xyngopoulos, Andreas, 275n4

Zeus (god), 51
Ziani, Pietro, 83, 118n42
Zoe (Byzantine empress), 77n21
Zosima (pilgrim), 91

Index of Works

Note: Page numbers in *italics* refer to illustrations. Page numbers in **bold** refer to primary catalogue entries.

Aaron and Moses before Pharaoh (Codex Monacensis), *112*, 113
Ambigua (Maximus the Confessor), 72
Anastasius (diptych), *123*, *123*
Annunciation (cat. no. 13), 34, *152*, *153*, 153, 247
Annunciation (fresco in Monastery of the Syrians), 109, *109*
Annunciation, Sanctuary Doors with (cat. no. 22), 35, 153, *178*, 179, *179*, 181, 255
Annunciation, Sanctuary Doors with (late 12th century), 179, *179*
Anonymus Allatii, 90
Archangel, *42*, 43, 54
Archangel Michael with Donor Monk (cat. no. 12), *150*, **151**
Argonautica (Apollonius of Rhodes), 67
The Ascension (ampulla in Museum of the Cathedral), *98*, *99*
The Ascension (fresco in Monastery of Saint Apollo), 99, *99*, 133
The Ascension (Rabbula Gospels), *98*, 131, *131*
Ascension of Christ (cat. no. 5), 33, 97–98, *98*, *130*, **131–33**

Baptism, *252*, 253
The Belles Heures of Jean, duc de Berry, *92*, *92*
The Blessing Christ, *38*, 51–52, *52*
The Body of Saint Catherine Carried by Angels to Sinai, *92*, *92*

Candelabrum with Saints and Mythical Beasts (cat. no. 39), 25, 34, *220*, **221**, *221*
Christ as the Ancient of Days, 45, *46*
Christ from Grand Deesis (cat. no. 25), 27–32, *30*, 35, **183–85**, *184*, 206
Codex Aureus. *See* Codex Theodosianus
Codex Theodosianus (cat. no. 7), 33–34, 57–76, **137–38**
  binding and cover of, 58, 137, *138*
  Christ, 62–65, *63*, *136*
  contents of, 58–59
  Evangelist John, 60, 68, *70*
  Evangelist Luke, 68, *70*
  Evangelist Mark, 67–68, *69*
  Evangelist Matthew, 67–68, *68*
  Gospel and, 69–71
  history of, 58, 137
  illuminations in, 58, 60, 62–69
  page design of, *59*, 59–60, *60*
  Saint Peter of Monobata, 137, *139*
  sections of lectionary in, 60–62, *61*, 137
  text of, *56*, *58*, *59*, 62, *73*, *76*, *137*, 138
  Virgin Mary, 65, 65–66
La Contarina, 83, *87*
Cross with Scenes of Moses (cat. no. 35), *210*, *211*, **211–13**, *212*, *213*, 215, 255
Crucifixion of the Perugia Missal, 157
Crucifixion with Deesis and Saints (cat. no. 15), 34, *156*, **157**
Crucifixion with Deesis Surrounded by Saints, 157, *157*
Crucifixion with Two Thieves (cat. no. 4), 33, *128*, 129

Deesis with Four Evangelists (Gospel Lectionary), *208*, 209
De Materia Medica (Dioscorides), *223*, *223*
Diptych with the Virgin Hodegetria and the Descent from the Cross (cat. no. 19), 34, 164, *166*, 167, *167*
Double-Sided Icon with Saints Sergius and Bacchus, and with the Virgin (cat. no. 30), 35, *250*, *251*, **251–53**
Dragons Chasing Flaming Pearls (tapestry), *228*
Die heyligen reyssen gen Jherusalem (Breydenbach), 85, *86*

Ecclesiastical Hierarchy (Dionysios the Areopagite), 64
Enthroned Mother of God with Angels and Donor (drawing), 40, *40*
Enthroned Mother of God with Angels and Donor (icon), *42*, 50, *50*, 51, 127
Enthroned Mother of God with Angels and Saints, 47–50, *48*, 51, 97
Epistyle with the Miracles of Saint Eustratios (cat. no. 21), 35, *174*, **174–76**, *175*, *176–77*, 209
Epistyle with Twelve Feast Scenes (cat. no. 20), 35, 163, *170*, **170–72**, *171*, *172*, *173*, 175
Epitaphelion with Feast Scenes (cat. no. 41), 34, *226*, *227*, **227–28**, *229*
Evangelist John (Codex Theodosianus), 60, *68*, *70*
Evangelist John (Gospel Book in Arabic), *200*
Evangelist Luke (Codex Theodosianus), 68, *70*
Evangelist Mark (Codex Theodosianus), 67–68, *69*
Evangelist Mark with Liturgical Scroll, *187*, 187–88
Evangelist Matthew (Codex Theodosianus), 67–68, *68*

First Century on Theology (Maximus the Confessor), 72–73
Florence. Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana: Ms. Plut. I.56 (Rabbula Gospels), 202
Freer Gospels, 55n15

Golden Gospel. *See* Codex Theodosianus
Gospel Book in Arabic (cat. no. 32), 24, 35, *200*, *201*, **201–3**, *202*
Gospel Lectionary (cat. no. 34), 35, 172, *208*, **209**
Gospels. *See also specific books*
  on Christ, 70–71
  and Codex Theodosianus, 69–71
Greek Anthology, 33, 41, 51, 54
Gregory Theologos with Liturgical Scroll, 187–88, *188*
Gruenemberg, Ms. of, *87*

The Heavenly Ladder (book) (John Climacus), 12–15, 205, 243
  in Arabic (cat. no. 49), 12, 35, 243, 245, *248*, 249, *249*
  in Greek (cat. no. 33), 12, *14*, 15, *31*, 35, *204*, *205*, **205–6**, *206*, *207*, 243, 245
The Heavenly Ladder of Saint John Climacus (cat. no. 48), 12, 36, 153, 205, 243, *244*, *245*, 245–47, *246*, *247*, 249
The Holy Land (Reuwich), 85, *86*
Homilies (James), 110, 267
Homilies of Gregory Nazianzenus (cat. no. 45), 35, *238*, *239*, 239

Ignatios Theophoros with Liturgical Scroll, 187–88, *188*
Isaiah and the Virgin, 99, *100*, 257, *257*
Isis (triptych), 49, *49*
Isis(?), Imperial Roman, 39, 49, *49*

James Adelphotheos with Liturgical Scroll, *xiv*, 187–88, *188*
John the Baptist from Grand Deesis, *27*, 27–33, *30*, 35, 183, *185*, 185n1

Kaper Koraon Treasure, 10, 215
Karlsruhe, Germany. Badische Landesbibliothek: St. Peter, Pap. 32 (Ms. of Gruenemberg), *87*

Lamp Stand (cat. no. 40), 10, 25, *222*, 223–25
Libri peregrinationis Fratri Jacobi de Verona, 88, *90*
Libri Carolini, 64
Life of Moses (Gregory of Nyssa), 12, 16, 118n56
The Life of Saint Symeon the Younger, 45
Lives of the Saints, 66

Martinus of Villanova, Saint Catherine (cat. no. 57), 35, 36, 116, *268*, *269*, *269*
Menologion Diptych with Feast Scenes (cat. no. 30), *194*, **195**, *195*
Menologion Icon for August (cat. no. 31), 10, 35, *196*, *197*, **197**, *198–99*, 263
Menologion Icon for November, 32, *32*
Military God, 39, *40*
Military Saint, 54, *54*, 55n65
Mosaic Icon of the Virgin Hodegetria (cat. no. 8), 34, *140*, **141–43**, *142*
Mosaic with two birds drinking from a cup, *228*, *228*
Moses before the Burning Bush (Chartres Cathedral), *112*, 113
Moses before the Burning Bush (Saint Catherine's Monastery), *114*
Moses before the Burning Bush (Vatican Library), 110, *111*, *267*
Moses before the Burning Bush (Codex Monacensis), *112*, 113
Moses loosening his sandal (mosaic), *212*, 213
Moses Receiving the Law (icon), 255, *255*
Moses receiving the Law (mosaic), *212*, 213
Moses Receiving the Law before the Burning Bush (cat. no. 29), 34, 35, 191, *192*, **193**, *193*
Moses Removing His Sandals before the Burning Bush (cat. no. 51), 16, 36, 106, *254*, 255
Moses Removing His Sandals and Moses before the Virgin of the Burning Bush (Greek Orthodox Patriarchate), 108, *108*, 110–12, 267
Moses with the Virgin and Child (cat. no. 52), 36, 99, 100, 107, 108, *256*, *257*, *257*
Moskos, Iacovos, View of Mount Sinai with Scenes of Monastic Life (cat. no. 43), 35, 36, *234*, 235, 249, 280
Mother of God (Bohdan and Varvara Khanenko Museum), 47, *47*
Mother of God (mosaic, church of the Koimesis), 18, *19*
Munich. Bayerische Staatsbibliothek: Codex Monacensis Lat. 835, *112*, 113
Mystagogia (Maximus the Confessor), 72

Neophytos between Archangels, 151n3
New York. Metropolitan Museum of Art: Ms. 54.1.1 (*The Belles Heures of Jean, duc de Berry*), *92*, *92*

Paris. Bibliothèque nationale de France: Ms. grec 2179, 202
Polyptych with Feast Scenes (cat. no. 18), 34, *162*, *163*, **163–64**, *164*, *165*, 167
Pilgrimage to Mount Sinai, 89
Presentation of the Mandylion to King Abgar (cat. no. 6), 33, *134*, *135*, 135
Princeton. University Libraries: Ms Garrett 6, 202

Procopius diptych, 107–8, 110, 112, 113
Prophet Elijah Fed by a Raven (cat. no. 28), 34, 35, *190*, 191, *191*, 193

Rabbula Gospels, 202
  The Ascension, 98, 131, *131*
  Virgin and Child, 133, *133*
The "Riha" Chalice (cat. no. 36), 34, 211, *214*, 215, *215*, 217, 219
The "Riha" Flabellum (cat. no. 38), 34, 217, *218*, 219, *219*
The "Riha" Paten (cat. no. 37), 10, 34, *216*, 217, *217*, 219
Rome, Vatican Library:
  Vat. cod. gr. 394, 205–6
  Vat. gr. 1162, 110, *111*, 267

Saint Athanasios with Liturgical Scroll, *187*, 187–88
Saint Bacchus (fresco), 251, *252*
Saint Basil with Liturgical Scroll (cat. no. 26), 34, 149, *168*, *186*, 187–88, 206
Saint Catherine (Martinus of Villanova) (cat. no. 57), 35, 36, *116*, *268*, 269, *269*
Saint Catherine of Alexandria (Palladas), *94*, 116
Saint Catherine and Scenes from Her Life (cat. no. 55), 36, 105, 263, *264*, 265, 277
Saint Catherine and Scenes from Her Life (Donato and Gregorio d'Arezzo) (cat. no. 60), 36, *276*, 277, *277*
Saint Catherine with the Virgin of the Burning Bush (cat. no. 56), 36, 83, 106, *106*, 107, 113, 257, *266*, 267, *267*
Saint George with Scenes from His Life (cat. no. 16), 36, *158*, 159
Saint John the Baptist (cat. no. 2), 33, *124*, 125, 127, 135, 206
Saint John the Baptist with Scenes from His Life (cat. no. 10), 34, *146*, 147, *147*, 206, 259
Saint John Chrysostom with Liturgical Scroll (cat. no. 27), 34, 149, 187–88, *189*
Saint John Climacus (cat. no. 47), 12, 36, *242*, 243, *243*, 245, *261*
Saint John Eleimon with Liturgical Scroll, *187*, 187–88
Saint Macarius and a Cherub (cat. no. 44), 35–36, *236*, 237
Saint Matthew, 201, *203*
Saint Nicholas with Scenes from His Life (cat. no. 17), *160*, 161
Saint Peter the Apostle (cat. no. 1), 33, 51–52, *120*, *122*, 123, 125
Saint Peter of Monobata (Codex Theodosianus), 137–39, *139*
Saint Petersburg, Library of the Russian Academy of Sciences:
  Ms. Q. no. 557, 201, *203*
Saint Petersburg, National Library of Russia:
  Ms. Arabic N.F. no 327, 202
Saint Theodore and Saint George on Horseback, *132*, 133
Saint Theodosia (cat. no. 46), 36, *240*, 241
Saints Catherine and Marina (11th–12th century), *102*, 104
Saints Catherine and Marina (13th century), *103*, 104–5
Saints Nicholas, Sabas, Barbara, and Irene (cat. no. 54), 36, *262*, 263, *263*
Saints Sergius and Bacchus (cat. no. 3), 33, 51–52, 125, *126*, 127
Saints Sergius and Bacchus, and the Virgin, double-sided icon with (cat. no. 50), 35, *250*, 251–53, *251*
Sanctuary Doors with the Annunciation (cat. no. 22), 35, 153, *178*, 179, *179*, 181, 255
Sanctuary Doors with the Annunciation (late 12th century), 179, *179*
Sanctuary Doors with Moses and Aaron (cat. no. 23), 35, *180*, 181, *181*
Scenes of the Nativity (cat. no. 14), 34, *154*, 155, *155*
Sinai, The Holy Monastery of Saint Catherine:
  cod. 204 (Codex Theodosianus), 33–34, 57–76, *136*, 137–38, *137*, *138*, *139*
  cod. 208 (Gospel Lectionary), 35, 172, *208*, 209
  cod. 339 (Homilies of Gregory Nazianzenus), 35, *238*, 239, *239*
  cod. 418 (*The Heavenly Ladder* in Greek), 12, *14*, 15, *31*, 35, *204*, *205*, 205–6, *206*, *207*, 243, 245
  cod. Arab 343 (*The Heavenly Ladder* in Arabic), 12, 35, 243, 245, *248*, 249, *249*
  cod. NF Arab.membr.14 (Gospel Book in Arabic), 24, 35, *200*, *201*, 201–3, *202*
  See also specific icons
Soknebtynis Enthroned and Min, 51, *53*
Spada triptych, 233, 233n2

Theodosianus. *See* Codex Theodosianus
The Three Hebrews in the Fiery Furnace, Daniel in the Lions' Den (cat. no. 11), *148*, *149*, 149, 259
Three Treatises on the Divine Images (John of Damascus), 70–71
Timaeus (Plato), 72
tombstone of Euthymios II, 259, *261*
Transfiguration (apse mosaic), 10–15, *13*, 18–19, *74*, *75*
  Christ in, 10–12, *13*, 18–19
  and Codex Theodosianus, 75–76
  David in, 19
  James in, 12, 75
  John in, 12, 75
  and Klontzas (Georgios), 233
  light on, 19, 21, *24*
  light rays in, 10–12, 18–19, 37n11, 75
  Moses in, 12, 15, 16, *18*, 19, 75, 97
  Peter in, 12, 15, 75
Transfiguration (on narthex door), 10, *12*, 15
Transfiguration with Scenes of Monastic Life (Klontzas) (cat. no. 42), 10, 35, *232*, 233, 259
Triptych with Dodekaorton, Saints, and the Virgin of the Burning Bush, 115, *115*
Triptych with Scenes of the Old and New Testaments (El Greco) (cat. no. 61), 32, 35, 36, 235, *278*, *279*, 279–80, *280*, *281*
Triptych with Virgin of the Burning Bush and the Burial of Saint Catherine (cat. no. 58), 10, 36, *230*, *270*, *271*, 271–73, *272*, *273*
Two Hundred Texts on Theology (Maximus the Confessor), 71–72
Typikon (Abbot Symeon), 83, 96–97, 265n3

View of Mount Sinai (El Greco), 235, *235*, 280
View of Mount Sinai with Scenes of Monastic Life (Moskos) (cat. no. 43), 35, 36, *234*, 235, 249, 280
Virgin Arakiotissa, *141*, 141–43
Virgin Blachernitissa, *253*, *253*
Virgin of the Burning Bush (Chapel of Saint James), 116, *117*
The Virgin of the Burning Bush (Damaskenos) (cat. no. 59), 36, *274*, 275, 279
Virgin of the Burning Bush and Four Saints, 99, *101*, 257
Virgin of the Burning Bush between Moses, Elijah, and Saint Gregory Nazianzenus, 145, *145*
Virgin and Child (Rabbula Gospels), 133, *133*
Virgin from Grand Deesis (cat. no. 24), 27–32, *30*, 35, *182*, *183*, 183–85
Virgin Hodegetria (cat. no. 9), 34, *144*, 145, *145*
Virgin Hodegetria (Theotokos Monastery), *252*, 253
Virgin Kykkotissa, *107*, 107–8, 110
Virgin Kykkotissa Surrounded by Christ in Glory, 108, *109*
Virgin Mary (Codex Theodosianus), 65, 65–66
Virgin with Moses and Patriarch Euthymios II of Jerusalem (Peter) (cat. no. 53), 34, 36, 149, 206, *257*, *258*, *259*, 259–61, *260*
The Visitation, 110, 111, *111*

Washington, D.C., Freer Gallery:
  De Materia Medica (Dioscorides), 223, *223*

Yorkshire triptych, 233, 233n2

Zacharias censing the altar (on narthex door), 10, *12*

Lenders to the Exhibition

EGYPT
The Holy Monastery of Saint Catherine, Sinai, cat nos. 1, 4–35, 39–58

GREECE
Collection of Saint Catherine of Sinai at Iráklion, Crete, cat no. 59

ITALY
Galleria Estense, Modena, cat no. 61

UKRAINE
Bohdan and Varvara Khanenko Museum of Arts, Kiev, cat nos. 2, 3

UNITED STATES
The Byzantine Collection, Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, D.C., cat nos. 36–38
The J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles, cat no. 60

BOSTON PUBLIC LIBRARY
3 9999 05875 133 8

Photograph Credits

Most of the photographs reproduced in this book were provided by the institutions or individuals cited in the captions. Additional photograph credits are given here. All rights are reserved to the owners of the photographs, whether or not included in this list.

Ann Arbor, Michigan
Reproduced through the courtesy of the Michigan-Princeton-Alexandria Expedition to Mount Sinai: figs. 14, 16, 105, 106, 117–20

Brumana, Lebanon
© 2001–2003 Orthodox Christian Archdiocese of Byblos and Botrys (Mount Lebanon): figs. 127, 128

Leiden, The Netherlands
Paul van Moorsel Centre for Christian Art and Culture in the Middle East / Mat Immerzeel: fig. 129

Los Angeles
Getty Research Institute, Visual Media Services / Jobe Benjamin, John Kiffe, Patricia Kikuchi, Christine Nguyen: cat. no. 49, p. 249, and figs. 41, 51, 72–75, 87, 89, 90, 94, 116, 131; J. Paul Getty Museum / Louis Meluso: cat. no. 60; J. Paul Getty Museum / Ellen Rosenberg: fig. 48; J. Paul Getty Museum / Bruce White, cat. nos. 1, 4–35, 39–58

New York
Art Resource / Erich Lessing: fig. 100; Bildarchiv Preussischer Kulturbesitz / Art Resource: fig. 47; Foto Marburg / Art Resource: figs. 92, 93; Photograph © 1985 The Metropolitan Museum of Art: fig. 76; Photograph © 1995 The Metropolitan Museum of Art: fig. 124; Photograph © 1997 The Metropolitan Museum of Art / Bruce White: fig. 106; Photograph © 2004 The Metropolitan Museum of Art / Bruce White: fig. 130; Photograph © 2006 The Metropolitan Museum of Art: fig. 52; Photograph © 2006 The Metropolitan Museum of Art / Bruce White: fig. 86; Scala / Art Resource: cat. no. 61, figs. 49, 123

Paris
Copyright EPHE, Centre Gabriel Millet (C2091): fig. 101

Sinai, Egypt
Objects from the Holy Monastery of Saint Catherine at Sinai photographed by courtesy of His Eminence Archbishop Damianos of Sinai

Washington, D.C.
Courtesy of Dumbarton Oaks, Byzantine Photograph and Fieldwork Archives: figs. 79, 104

HOLY IMAGE, HALLOWED GROUND: ICONS FROM SINAI presents exquisite and rarely exhibited Byzantine icons and manuscripts from the Holy Monastery of Saint Catherine at Sinai, the oldest continuously inhabited monastery in the Christian world.

ISBN 0-89236-856-X

9 780892 368563

PRINTED IN ITALY